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JOURNAL OF THE ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY.

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THE REVENUE ADMINISTRATION OF THE NORTHERN SARKARS. (1769–1786.)

DR. LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A. Ph.D. (Lond.), F.R. Econ. S; Stat. S.

(*Continued from page 82 of Vol. VII, Part II.*)

Chapter II.

General Caillaud and Charles Smith were not prepared for an arrangement under which full scope would have to be given to the vagaries of the Dubashes. They were equally unprepared for the direct management of the territories at a time when the Company's authority was not sufficiently well established and negotiations with Nizam Ali were still proceeding. They thought that Hussain Ali's appointment as the Company's renter would not result in its direct repudiation by Nizam Ali even though it might not evoke his warm welcome. The *status quo*, though there might not be much to recommend its continuance, would ease the minds of the people and facilitate the attempts of the government for the complete control of the Sarkars.

Hussain Ali as the Company's renter: November 1766 to September 1769.

Hence, they countenanced the proposals of Hussain Ali to rent the Sarkars. These proposals were based on the understanding which he privately entered into with the President while he was at Madras.[145]

145 The Government wrote home that as to Hussain Ali "we had not much to apprehend from him as, by a private agreement, he had before entered into with the President, he engaged to put us in possession of the Cirkars whenever required" in exchange for a personal *jagir*. *Madras Letters Received* 1 April 1766 (Palk) para 3. Vol III.

Caillaud and Smith rejected his original proposal to pay twelve lakhs of Madras Pagodas for a period of three years, in which case the Company would have to bear the charges of collection. But being unable to settle any agreement definitely, they referred the matter to the decision of the Madras government.[146] The government appointed a sub Committee of the Council consisting of John Pybus and John Call to report on the matter.[147] The Committee submitted their opinion that the time for direct management had not yet come and that the interests of the Company would be best served by renting the Sarkars to Hussain Ali.[148] They recommended an annual rent of four lakhs of Madras Pagodas on the condition that Hussain Ali agreed to pay the previous year's balances or, if he rejected this and insisted on his personal *jagir* of 30,000 Pagodas a year and the Masulipatam *haveli* lands valued at 15,000 Pagodas, he should be required to pay 2,50,000, 2,50,000 and 3,00,000 Pagodas respectively for the first, second and third years, clear of the balance of 75,695 Pagodas still due from the zamindars and of all ordinary and extra-ordinary charges of collection.[149]

While General Caillaud was still engaged in the negotiations at Hyderabad, Smith came to an agreement with Hussain Ali for the revenue management of the Sarkars. According to this agreement, *kauls* were drawn up in the names of Hussain Ali and Raja Srinivasa Jogi Pantulu Bahadur[150] for the Rajahmundry Sarkar at an annual rent of 3,83,500 Madras Pagodas. The Sarkars of Ellore and Mustafanagar were leased to Hussain Ali himself at Madras Pagodas 4,16,500 a year, thus making a total of eight lakhs of Pagodas for the three middle Sarkars. Both these leases were to run for a period of three years. The two renters further agreed to pay Madras Pagodas 6,500 a year for the

146 *Caillaud and Smith to Madras* 12 October 1766. *Milit, Cons,* 20 October Vol 57 pp. 306 11.

147 *Milit. Cons.* 20 October 1766 Vol. 57 pp. 311-15. Pybus was a former Chief of Masulipatam. Call had considerable experience of the affairs in the Sarkars, since on a previous occasion he visited Masulipatam to advise the Madras government on the defence of the Sarkars.

148 *Pybus and Call to Madras* Fort. St. George 25 October *Milit. Cons.* 27 October *idem* pp. 317-19.

149 *Idem* pp. 321-22 See also *Madras to Caillaud and Smith* 28 October pp 323-24. *Smith* to *Madras* Masulipatam 8 November *Milit Cons* 27 November *idem* pp 333-35 and enclosures pp. 335-37.

150 The Company's interpreter attached to the chiefship of Masulipatam. He was the same Jogi Pantulu who conducted the negotiations with Nizam Ali. These titles were conferred on him by the Court of Hyderabad along with the *majumdari* of the Rajahmundry Sarkar.

support of the Company's troops detailed to assist them in their administration.[151] The Madras government ratified these agreements on 17th November 1766 with the special proviso that Hussain Ali should pay half of the outstanding balances by January 1767.[152] Ten days after these agreements had been concluded the government received information that the treaty of Hyderabad had been signed. Thus, before the end of 1766 the vigorous policy of the Madras government had justified itself.

Subjugation of the Middle Sarkars.

Their first task was to establish the authority of the renters in the Sarkars by reducing the zamindars to obedience and inducing them to enter into agreements with the nominees of the Company since the latter were "destitute of any other means of paying the Company their rents but what their industry and experience may be able to raise out of the countries they had rented".[153] The zamindars of Ellore and Mustafanagar, especially Appa Rao, the formidable Raja of Nuzividu, immediately recognised the authority of Hussain Ali as the renter of these Sarkars.[154] But the Rajas of Peddapuram and Samalkota refused to acknowledge the joint authority of Hussain and Jogi Pantulu as renters of the Rajahmundry Sarkar. Owing to the fact that the Raja of Peddapuram was a minor and the rival factions in the family were unwilling to come to terms, force was used "as an example of this kind is absolutely necessary in order thoroughly to establish our authority in all the Sarkars".[155] The defiant attitude of the Peddapuram family had its repercussion on the zamindars in general and even Appa Rao and the Raja of Mugalaturru, who had previously negotiated with Hussain Ali, had now "absolutely declined settling on any terms, waiting until the dispute with the Peddapore Rajah is decided".[156] To overcome this difficulty and at the request of Hussain Ali, Charles Smith and Quintin Craufurd, a member of the Masulipatam Council, proceeded to Rajahmundry on 6 January 1767.[157]

151 *Smith to Madras, op. cit.* pp. 333-37. See also *Madras Letters Received* 22 January 1767 (further letters) (Palk), paras 39 and 63-65 Vol. III.

152 *Milit. Cons.* 17 November 1766 and *Madras to Caillaud and Smith* of the same date. Vol. 57 pp. 337-38 See also *Masulipatam to Madras* 23 November *idem* 8 December *idem* pp. 360-61, intimating that Hussain Ali had accepted the additional condition imposed by the Madras government.

153 *Smith and Craufurd to Madras* Rajahmundry, 29 January, 1767 *idem* 9 February Vol. 58 p. 95.

154 *Masulipatam to Madras* 31 December 1766 *Milit. Cons.* 5 January 1767 Vol. 5? p. 3-6.

155 *Idem* Bourchier's government which had recently succeeded that of Palk approved this procedure. See resolution on pp. 72-73.

156 *Smith and Craufurd to Madras* Rajahmundry, 29 January, *Milit. Cons.* 9 February Vol. 58 pp. 94-96.

157 *Same to same* Rajahmundry, 22 January *idem* 2 February, *idem* pp. 68-72

The Madras government rose equal to the occasion and ordered the detachment originally detailed for service with Nizam Ali to deal with the situation.[158] Without a mere show of forces, Colonel Hart procured the surrender of the fort at Peddapuram, and "as the grain has...been already collected and distributed among the Rajah's dependants", Smith and Craufurd thought it best to accommodate matters, since any other method "would have occasioned almost the entire loss of this year's revenues".[159] Niladri Rao,[160] Raja of Samalkota was more obdurate than the Peddapuram family and surrendered only after his fort had been stormed. Once again, the Madras government pursued a lenient policy. These two instances brought the zamindars to obey the authority of Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu. A settlement of the revenue affairs was carried through and thus the Company obtained the prospect of enjoying "the quiet and peaceable possession of these three Sarkars".[161] But the details of this settlement are not available.

Paucity of Revenue statistics for 1766-1769.

The Madras records are silent as regards the revenue management of these Sarkars for the three years they were leased out to Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu. The general attitude of the government seems to have been solely confined to the policing of the provinces without any attempt on their part to come into contact with the cultivators. The Court of Directors were emphatic on this line of policy. In their despatch of 24 March 1768, they wrote to Madras that "no European is to interfere in the collection of the revenues further than to receive the rents from Hussain Ally, or the Rajahs who held the districts (who) are to account to the Chiefs of Masulipatam and Vizagapatam as you shall direct, neither are they to interfer in the management of the government of the country further than to check the renters if guilty of any grievous oppressions".[162]

When war broke out with Nizam Ali in 1769, Masulipatam withdrew all forces from the Chicacole Sarkar to concentrate on Khammamet and this secured the peace of these Sarkars. Hussain Ali himself sought and obtained additional military assistance since "the number of troops (originally) allotted him is not even sufficient to support his character among the zemindars with any kind of dignity" and since it would have been extremely difficult to settle the next year's *jamabandi*

158 *Smith and Craufurd to Madras* Rajahmundry, 29 January, *Milit. Cons.* 9 February Vol. 58 p 97 and *Madras to Masulipatam* 10 February *idem* p. 108.

159 *Same ta same* Rajahmundry, 16 February *idem* 23 February *idem* pp. 138-40. See also *Madras Letters Received* 21 March 1767 (Bourchier) paras 6-7 Vol III

160 The present Maharaja of Pithapuram is a descendant of Niladri Rao.

161 The Bourchier government approved these measures. See *Milit. Cons*, Vol. 58 p. 141 and *Madras to Masulipatam*, 24 February, Vol. 58 pp. 142-43.

162 *Madras Dispatches* 24 March 1768, para 46 Vol. IV p. 262.

without an adequate force.[163] But he was not successful in obtaining from the Madras government the special favour of an hereditary and personal *jagir* without reference to his office as the Company's renter. On this the Madras government wrote home that he had pressed them for "a distinct cowle for his Jagueer and to have it established as his property. We avoided giving him any such independant indulgence, but insisted on its being included in the Cowle for the Sarkars as a means of securing the fidelity of a man whose abilities may hereafter be useful on many occasions".[164]

Temporary revenue administration of Khammamet and Warangal: Hussain Ali as manager.

The Sarkars of Khammamet and Warangal in the Nizam's dominions were temporarily administered by the Madras government during the war with Nizam Ali in 1768. At this period several villages in the Khammamet Sarkar were interspersed with those of the Mustafanagar Sarkar and hence had been a source of constant friction between the renters of these two Sarkars. The Sarkars of Khammamet and Warangal were parcelled out among numerous zamindars "almost every trifling farm being distinguished with this appellation, and the proprietor of this small tract keep(s) up a retinue and strictly adheres to an observance of all the ceremonials used by the people of this cast and distinction".[165] The revenues of these Sarkars were partly realised in grain. Both these features demanded the presence of a well-appointed *sibbandi* for the collection of the revenues.

The Masulipatam Council recommended that the appointment of a renter would be the best method of revenue management till they obtained a more complete knowledge of these Sarkars. They recommended that "the abilities, art and experience of Hussain Ally, the known timidity of his nature which destroys all ideas of enterprise[166] where his person may be exposed to danger, his dependence on us and the resentment entertained against him by the Soubah, joined to the contiguousness of these Circars, points him out as the person to be entrusted with the care of them.[167] They further concluded that the expenses of the military forces necessary for the security of these Sarkas would be easily recovered from the revenues of the Khammamet Sarkar alone.

163 *Masulipatam to Madras* 20 November 1767. *Milit. Cons.* 27 November Vol. 60 pp 1, 296-97.

164 *Madras Letters Received* 4 November 1767 (Bourchier) para 11 Vol. III.

165 *Masulipatam to Madras* 29 January 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 11 February Vol. 61 pp. 157-160. Raja Aswa Rao of Palavancha was the most formidable of these zamidars

166 Thereby meaning, obviously, his incapacity to attempt any scheme subversive of the Company's authority.

167. *Op. Cit.* Vol. 61, pp. 157—160

At a time when the Rukn-ud Daula was on his way to Madras to conclude the treaty of 1768, the government was not prepared to accept Hussain Ali's proposals. But they directed Masulipatam that "as much of the rents of those Circars as possible may be collected to assist (us) in defraying our expenses."[168] Curiously enough they had already assumed the general control of these Sarkars when they had induced Jafar Beg Khan, the Nizam's commandant of the fort of Khammamet, to surrender his charge in exchange for a personel *Jagir*[169] and after the treaty of Madras had been concluded, according to which the fort of Kondapalli and its adjacent *jagir* were ceded to the Company, they still retained the possession of these Sarkars until an envoy of the Nizam's government took charge of them. As such they directed Masulipatam "to cease to interfere in the management of these countries, (but) keep an exact account of the revenues they may have (already) collected.[170]

At the instance of the Masulipatam Council, Hussain Ali deputed his *naib* to "take an account of the grain produced this season" in these Sarkars and "to follow such other measures as might be necessary for preventing its being carried off the ground".[171] Jafar Beg arrived at Masulipatam and pressed for the grant of the *jagir* promised by the Madras government in the event of his surrendering the fort of Khammamet which he had already done.[172] This fort was almost immediately delivered to one of the accredited servants of the Nizam along with the two Sarkars of Khammamet and Warangal.[173] The government kept their promise by granting Jafar Beg a *jagir* consisting of eleven villages in the Bezwada Taluk of the Kistna District.[174] Added to this,

168 Resolution of the Madras government. *Milit. Cons.* 11 February 1768. Vol. 61, p. 162, and *Madras to Masulipatam* of the same date, *idem* pp. 169—170.

169 We read that Jafar Beg later had "made an application to be put in possession of the Jaghir which was promised to him as a recompence for the surrendry of Commamet in virtue of your orders of 30th November last" *Masulipatam to Madras*, 19 March 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 25 March, *idem* p. 414.

170 *Milit. Cons* 22 February *idem*, p. 209.

171 *Masulipatam to Madras* 18 February *Milit. Cons.* 5 March *idem* pp. 278—79.

172 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 19 March, *Milit Cons*, 25 March. Vol. 61, p. 414.

173 *idem*. pp. 414—16.

174 The villages were Gollapudi, Tummalapalem, Zapudi, Mulapadu, Katikalapadu, Ilaprolu, Bhavanipuram, Tadajulli, Andukur, Muttalampadu and Bhimavaram.

I am not able to identify the last four villages. The first seven are situated on the northern bank of the Kistna above Bezwada. Bhimavaram, I, presume, should not be confused with its namesake and the headquarters of the Bhimavaram Taluk of the West Godavari District.

See also *Madras to Masulipatam*, 25 April, *idem*. pp. 530—39.

he was given the lease of the three villages, other than his *jagir* villages granted by Nizam Ali according to the treaty of 1768.[175]

The fort and *jagir* of Kondapalli which had been acquired by the late treaty were incorporated with the Mustafanagar Sarkar. Hussain Ali was again given the preference as "the properest person to rent" the district. But in order to avoid any reproach of favouritism, they invited public offers for the rent of these acquisitions. As a result of this, Mosalkanti Kamari Pantulu submitted a proposal to rent the Kondapalli division.[176] But Hussain Ali's proposal was accepted as being the most favourable and the farm was let from the time of the acquisition of the territory[177] to 31st December 1769, by which time the Mustafanagar *kauls* would expire. This was done with a view to synchronise the periods of leases of all the Sarkars.[178]

Disturbances in Mailavaram and the demilitarisation of the Middle Sarkars.

It is here necessary to note the disturbances in the Mailavaram zamindari, in the Bezwada taluk of the Kistna District. which ultimately led to the systematic reduction of the zamindari forces in the three Middle Sarkars. The death of the Raja and the succession of a minor threw the affairs of this tract into great confusion and finally resulted in the pillage by certain turbulent members of the family of Kondapalli *jagir* recently acquired by the Company. At the request of Hussain Ali, the Masulipatam Council deputed Capt. Billingham to suppress the revolt.[179]

This incident focussed the attention of the Madras government on one of the most serious obstacles in the way of the effective administration of the Middle Sarkars. As Masulipatam put it: "The numberless forts with which these provinces abound alone render the zemindars formidable. Their undiciplined and ill—appointed followers can never in the field make any opposition of consequence to a regular body of troops, but while secured within their forts which are generally well-stocked with provisions, the reduction of them to obedience becomes a work of time and expense...No opportunity should be neglected of lessening their numbers, at the same time, without depriving the zemindars of their lands and other privileges. These most of them possess from ancient and hereditary descent, but the greater number of the forts have been erected

175 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 27 May. *Milit. Cons.* 8 June, idem, p. 706.

176 *Masulipatam to Madras* 23 March *Milit. Cons.* 25 March Vol. 61 pp. 432-37

177 The exact date of the acquisition of Kondapalli is not specific. All the while, the Masulipatam Council and Hussain Ali as chief renters enjoyed *de facto* authority over it.

178 *Madras to Masulipatam* 4 April idem pp. 463-64.

179 *Masulipatam to Madras* 28 October 1768 *Milit. Cons.* 8 November Vol. 63 pp. 1, 460-61.

during the weak and relaxed government of the present Soubah (Nizam Ali) and his predecessor Salabat Jung".[180]

To reconcile the zamindars to the administration of the Company was at once a subject of policy and prudence. As such "by well-timed marks of reward we should gain their confidence and affection and as they would then be exposed to the indisputable control of our authority and would see, nevertheless, that we had no intention to make an improper use of that power, we are persuaded that they would soon reconcile themselves to a government that must appear to them to be founded on principles so moderate and just, nor would they wish to change for another (which), from experience they must know, would either make use of their defenceless situaton to dispoil them of their possessions or at least would so far improve by it as to the extent of immense sums under pretence of confirming them therein". The Madras government entirely approved this line of policy and, while ordering the demolition of Mailavaram, directed Masulipatam "to destroy the others as opportunities offer."[181]

The affairs of Peddapuram also occasioned a considerable amount of anxiety to the Madras government. Aswa Rao, Raja of Palawancha, in the Khammamet Sarkar of the Nizam's dominions, had been dispossessed of his zamindari by Ibrahim Beg Khan who, as the Nizam's deputy, had recently taken charge of the Khammamet and Warangal Sarkars in accordance with the treaty of Madras. Aswa Rao having taken shelter in the Peddapuram Zamindari, Ibrahim Beg strongly protested to the Masulipatam Council on behalf of his master.[182] The Madras government originally directed an inquiry into the rights of the zamindars to grant asylum, but on the strong recommendation of the Masulipatam Council it was abandoned as such an inquiry would weaken the authority of the Company in the country. Nevertheless, Aswa Rao was obliged to quit the country.[183]

The Peddapuram incident : rights of asylum.

180 *Masulipatam to Madras* 9 November *Milit. Cons.* 21 November Vol. 63 pp. 1,552-57.

181 Resolution of the Madras government. *idem*, p. 1. 558. This resolution was immediately carried into effect. See, *Masulipatam to Madras*, 23 November. *Milit. Cons.* 29 November Vol. 63, pp. 1, 674—76.

See also *Madras Letters Received*, 8 March 1769 (further letter) (Bourchier) para 28, Vol. IV.

182 *Masulipatam ta Madras* undated No. 227 *Milit. Cons.* 17 April 1769 Vol. 65 pp. 267-68.

It is not clear whether this Ibrahim Beg was the same as the one who delivered the fort of Kondapalli to the Company in exchange for a *jagir*.

183 *Masulipatam to Madras* No, 121 *Milit. Cons.* 30 July 1770 Vol. 67 pp. 176-77.

The revenue transactions between the Company and Hussain Ali, and Jogi Pantulu as has been shown before, were extremely obscure. But towards the end of the period of his rentership, we get a few glimpses which are worth reviewing. Thus, in November 1768, a sum of Madras Pagodas 62,111 was shown to be outstanding from the renters. It arose out of the balances which were due to Hussain Ali from the several zamindars at the time when he relinquished the deputyship of Nizam Ali and was entertained as the Company's renter. Even though "the Company did not, in fact, get possession of the circars until after the conclusion of the first treaty with the Soubah and though (the) three southernmost were not rented out untill the latter end of 1766", the fact that the *kaul* had been drawn up so as to become operative from 25 September of that year and that Hussain Ali had assigned these balances to the Company led the Madras government to insist on its payment[184]

The Company and the renters: revenue dealings.

Again, by the same month, Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu as renters of the Rajahmundry Sarkar had completely discharged their obligations for the *fasli* year 1176 (1766--67) which amounted to M.Ps. 1,19,500. But for the year 1767--68 a balance of M. Ps. 49.500 consisting of the third *kist* in part and the fourth in full was due from them. As regards the Ellore and Mustafanagar Sarkars, Hussain Ali paid in full his rent of M. Ps. 1,30,500 for 1766—67. But for the year 1767—68 he stood indebted to the Company to the extent of M. Ps. 50,500 in the same manner as was in the Company's debt in conjunction with Jogi Pantulu. Both these balances arose out the backwardness of the zamindars among whom were included the Rajas ot Nuzividu, the Char Mahal, Yuyyur, Peddapuram, Pithapuram, the Domahal (KōtaRāmachandrapuram), Korukonda, Polavaram and Gutala, in all mounting to M.Ps. 63,112. By the agreements signed by these zamindars, half of the balances ought to have been paid by 28 February 1767 and the residum by 31 May 1768, Their default was the direct result of the renters' backwardness.[185]

In June 1769 the Madras government surveyed the revenue position of the three middle Sarkars in view of the fact that the term of rentership of Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu would be expiring in

184 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 4 October 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 2 November, Vol, 63, pp. 1, 391—93.

185 *Masulipatam to Madras*, 4 October 1768. *Milit. Cons.* 2 November. See statement of balances due to the Company. Vol. 63, pp 1393—97. See also, *Madras Letters Received*, (further letter) Bourchier, 8 March 1769, para 27, Vol.IV

Termination of the rentership of Hussain Ali and Jogi Pantulu: September 1769.

September.[186] Since the zamindars in general "notwithstanding their assurances of fidelity and attachment, were ready to catch at every opportunity of distressing the government", they resolved to do way with the agency of renters and get into direct touch with them. "Even tho' the expenses of collecting (the revenues) should render it less advantageous, we think even that will be over-balanced by our acquiring a more competent knowledge ot their mean value."[187] The matter was then referred to the Masulipatam Council for their opinion. On their concurrence with the views of the government, and notwithstanding the possibility "that the plan may not answer our expectations", Madras resolved to "confine ourselves to a trial only." The Sarkars were then advertised to be leased piecemeal.[188]

Hussain Ali was extremely reluctant to relinquish the management of the Sarkars which he had enjoyed either as the *naib* of Nizam Ali or as the Company's renter, for nearly a decade. He proposed to visit Madras with a view to secure his continuation as renter of the revenues of the Sarkars.[189] The government of Du Pre, who had recently succeeded Bourchier, emphatically declined to countenance his proposal. On Hussain Ali's reiterating the advantages which the Company would derive from the continuation of his rentership, the Madras government stated the disadvantages of a system of revenue management from which direct contact with the zamindars was eliminated.[190]

The government argued that since the *jamabandi* for 1769—1770 had already been settled and in force for seven months, no question of Hussain Ali's management could be countenanced. Hussain Ali had falsely assured the zamindars that he was to be reappointed renter and to counteract this and bring them to proper obedience it was essential to settle with them individually. Otherwise, the agreement entered into with the Company by the zamindars would not be fulfilled, and would cause great loss to the current revenue. Hussain Ali's presence at Madras could only be productive of disputes with the Nawab of Arcot regarding their money transactions.[191] On all these grounds, Hussain Ali's importunities for reinstatement were definitely rejected.

Even after the expiry of his rentership, Hussain Ali continued to have considerable dealings with the zemindars. Thus, as late as

186 *Pub. Cons.* 9 June 1769. Vol. 28, pp. 367—69.

187 *Pub Cons.* 9 June 1769. Vol. 28, pp. 367—69.

188 *Ibid.* See also, *Madras Letters Received.* 27 June 1769. (Bourchier), paras 48—51 and 65. Vol. IV.

189 *Hussain Ali to Madras,* No. 82 *Milit. Cons.* 10 April 1770. Vol. 67 pp. 95—96.

190 *Same to same,* No. 92, *idem.* 23 April. *idem.*

191 *Hussain Ali to Madras.* No. 92 *Milit. Cons.* 23 April, Vol, 67, pp. 96—100,

August 1770, we find him complaining that the Madras government had not discharged their obligations by neglecting to take over, as promised the balances exhibited as due to him from the zamindars, and that he had been obliged to satisfy the Company with the proceeds of his *jagir*.[192] Governor Du Pre wrote to him in reply that Alexander Wynch, the new Chief of Masulipatam would give him "all the assistance he can to recover (the balance in question), but certainly it would not be just that the Company should suffer in the revenue of this year to make good the arrear(s) of the last year".[193] Thus ended Hussain Ali's management of the Sarkars.

Estimate of Hussain Ali's revenue administration.

It is not possible to be precise in an estimate of Hussain Ali's revenue administration of the Sarkars. Starting as the deputy of Nizam Ali he had attempted to wield uncontrolled power over the Sarkars and naturally evoked the opposition of the zamindars. But he was fortunate all through this period to command the good will and the military support of the Company and thus could even defy the *subadar* of Dekhan. He had survived one of the most crucial tests which any Indian administration of this period had been subjected to. At a time when the whole of Southern India was in the crucible of internecine warfare, when the Company had been reduced to the lowest state of their fortunes, when the Madras government were unable and unwilling to assert their right to the Sarkars on the grant of Shah Alam—Hussain Ali saw the form in which the fortunes of the Company were shaping, and willingly threw in his lot with that of the Madras government. Thus, he delivered up the management of the Sarkars even before the treaty of 1766. For this he became the object of the severest resentment of Nizam Ali. But he never departed from his policy of friendship towards the Madras government. It would be no exaggeration to say that despite his weaknesses he had actually established the Company's authority in the northern Sarkars.

On the other hand, his revenue administration had been extremely severe. Perhaps the troublous conditions of the times partly justified his heavy rental. Even then, his revenue methods were pernicious. His despotism led him to trample upon the rights of the zamindars in the Sarkars but in this he was only perpetuating the traditional policy of the Mughal Empire in its palmiest days. As such he became an object for cautious observation and final condemnation by the Madras government and when once that government had realised that the time had come for a drastic change in the revenue administration of the Sarkars, they dismissed him. With the close of his administration, Southern India was at once rid and deprived of the instrumentality of a single individual for the entire management of the huge strip of territory.

192 *Same to same* received 26 July 1770 *Pub. Cons.* 17 August Vol. 30 pp 765-66.

193 *Du Pre to Hussain Ali* 1 August Vol. 30 pp. 666-67. I am not able to trace this transaction any further.

GENEOLOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE PALLAVAS.

(From Kalabhartri to Paramesvaravarma II)

GOVINDA PAI.

(*Continued from page 16 of Volume VII, Part 1*)

(9) The undated Haiderabad grant[41] of the same Chalukya Vikramaditya I claims that he trampled upon (or rubbed out) the fame of Narasimha, destroyed the power of Mahendra and conquered Iśvara with a mere glance, and thus crushed the Pallavas, and that conquering king Iśvarapota, he took Kanchi. The Pallava kings mentioned here would no doubt be the immediate successors of Paramēśvaravarma I who had vanquished Vikramaditya I, and on whom naturally therefore Vikramaditya would be avenged. These Pallava kings were thus the contemporaries of this Chalukya king.

(10) From the Vakkaleri plates[42] issued in S S. 679 (i.e. 757 A.C) the 11th regnal year of the Chalukya king Kirtivarma II, we are informed that the Pallava king Nandipotavarma was twice defeated during the reign of Kirtivarma's father Vikramaditya II—once by Vikramaditya II himself, who after achieving that conquest entered Kanchi and acquired great merit by presenting heaps of gold to the Rajasimhesvara and other temples there, which is confirmed by the inscription at the said shrine[43] in the Kailasanatha temple at Conjeevaram, which mentions this Chalukya king with all his paramount titles; and next by the crown-prince Kirtivarma who was deputed for the purpose by his father the king Vikramaditya II. The latter conquest is also mentioned in the Aivuli plates[44] issued in S.S. 741 (i.e. 749 A.C.) the 4th regnal year of Kirtivarma II. This Nandipotavarma is obviously the same as Nandivarma or Nandipotaraja, whose Kasakudi plates are

41 I.A. (VI p. 77). The phrase in the original text is 'नयनविजित' i.e. conquered with a glance, which is so graphic and so expressive that Dr. Fleet's alteration 'नयविजित' (=surpassed in the art of government) may be readily rejected as quite uncalled for.

42 E.C. (X Kl 63)

43 F.K.D. p. 376.

44 M.A.R. 1909 p. 12a.

dated in his 22nd regnal year, and who, as stated therein, was the cousin and successor of Paramēśvaravarma II. Now, according to the Lakshmēśvara stone inscription, dated S. S. 656, on the full-moon day of *Māgha*, in the 2nd regnal year of Vikramaditya II, which date is equivalent to the 13th January 733 A. C. (on which day there was a lunar eclipse though not mentioned in the grant), Vikramaditya II must have come to the throne in 733 A.C; and likewise according to the Vakkaluri plates Kirtivarma II came to the throne in 746—47 A.C. Nandipotavarma was thus the contemporary of Vikramaditya II (733—746 A.C.).

From the Penukonda plates, we know that Simhavarma who installed the Ganga king Ayyavarma (or Harivarma) must have begun to rule before 309 A. C., and from the Allahabad pillar inscription we know that Vishnugopa who was defeated by Samudragupta must have been ruling in 320—322 A.C., and from the Penukonda plates again we know that Skandavarma who installed the Ganga king Madhava II must have commenced to rule before 349 A. C. It will then be readily seen that these three kings Simhavarma, Vishnugopa and Skandavarma must be three successive kings, and a glance at the Pallava Geneology given above will suffice to convince that these three kings must respectively be Simhavarma I, his brother and successor Vishnugopa I, and his nephew and successor Skandavarma IV, who was the son of Simhavarma I. The dates of these three kings then would be— (1) Simhavarma I —309 A.C. (2) Vishnugopa I—320—322 A.C., and (3) Skandavarma IV —349 A.C.

Simhavarma II was the son of Vishnugopa I as stated in his own Ongodu (No. 2) plates, which are dated in his 4th regnal year and which mention a solar eclipse that took place on the new moon day of *Chaitra* and it may be correctly presumed that he must have succeeded his cousin brother Skandavarma IV, as the latter, we have seen, succeeded his uncle (and Simhavarma II's father) Vishnugopa I. Simhavarma of the '*Loka-vibhaga*' whose reign, as mentioned in that work, commenced in 437 A.C., could never be the son of Vishnugopa I (who, as we have seen, was on the throne in 320—22 A.C.) or that the difference between them is more than a hundred years, and also for the further reason that there was no solar eclipse on the *Chaitra* new moon day in his 4th regnal year i.e. 439—40 A.C. or 440—41 A.C. (as expressly stated in the Omgodu No. 2 plates of Vishnugopa I's son Simhavarma II), nor in any year between 414 A.C. and 460 A.C. It is therefore quite certain that Simhavarma of the '*Loka-vibhaga*' is Simhavarma III. Thus it is established beyond doubt that there were *three* kings of the name of Simhavarma the *first* of whom Simhavarma I was the installer of the Ganga king

45 F.K.D, p. 375.

Harivarma and was already ruling in 309 A.C., the *second* of which name Simhavarma II, was the son of Vishnugopa I and the donor of the Omgodu (No. 2) plates, and the *third* king called as such, Simhavarma III began to rule in 437 A.C. We also know that according to the inviolate practice still prevalent among the Hindus, no son would be called by the same name as that of his father (wherefore Simhavarma III could not be the son of his name-sake Simhavarma II), whereas the grandson is invariably named after his grandfather, wherefore there is no doubt that there was the king Vijayavishnugopa *alias* Vishnugopa II (the donor of the Guntur as well as the Chura plates) between Simhavarma II and Simhavarma III, and that king was rightly called as such after his grand father Vishnugopa I, just as his son Simhavarma III was named as such after his grand-father Simhavarma II. The deletion therefore of the names of Vijayavishnugopa (i.e. Vishnugopa II) and his son Simhavarma III from the Pallava Geneology, as has been done by Rev. Heras[46] is quite unjustified.

From the statement of the Velurpalaiyam plates[47] that several kings including Vishnugopa passed away before Nandivarma was born, we have already seen that Vishnugopa II (though belonging to the junior branch) must have preceeded his cousin brother Nandivarma on the Pallava throne, and the latter therefore must have ruled between Vishnugopa II and his son Simhavarma III, Consequently, Nandivarma would be the immediate predecessor of his nephew Simhavarma III. We know Simhavarma III began to rule in 437 A. C., wherefore Nandivarma may be assigned to circa 414—437 A. C. and his cousin brother and immediate predecessor Vishnugopa II to circa 389—414 A.C. The immediate predecessor of Vishnugopa II was his own father Simhavarma II, who was the donor of the Omgodu (No. 2) plates. These plates, we have seen, mention a solar eclipse that occured on the *Chaitra* newmoon day in his 4th regnal year. Now there were only 2 solar eclipses on the specified day within 25 years before 389 A.C., viz. those on (1) 4th April 368 A.C. and (2) 15th April 386 A.C. The latter date may be rejected, as in that case his reign would be a very brief one of 7 or 8 years. We shall therefore accept the former date i.e. the 4th April 368 A.C. as that of the eclipse mentioned in his Omgodu (No. 2) plates (the actual date of which then would be 9th April 368 A.C.), in which case his reign would commence in 364 A.C., and his regnal period would be 364—389 A. C.

The immediate predecessor of this Simhavarma II was, as we have already seen, not his father Vishnugopa I, but his cousin brother Skandavarma IV, who was already on the Pallava throne in 349 A.C.

46 H.P.G. Chart No. 2.
47 M.E.R. 1911 p. 58.

He may therefore be assigned to 340—364 A.C. We have also seen that the immediate predecessor of Skandavarma IV was not his father Simhavarma I, but his uncle Vishnugopa I, who ruled between the father and son, and was on the Pallava throne in 320—22 A.C. when Samudragupta invaded Kanchi and we also know that Simhavarma I must have already begun to rule before 309 A. C. Now the Uruvapalli grant[48] of this Vishnugopa, issued in the 11th regnal year of his brother Simhavarma I, while he himself was the crown-prince (Yuva-maharaja) is dated on the 10th lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month of *Pushya*. The presumption is but natural that the said lunar day must be specially auspicious in order to be selected as fit occasion for making grants. Eclipses of the sun and the moon are considered the most auspicious occasions for making gifts, next to which comes the day of the winter solstice (*Uttarayana Samkranti*). when the sun takes to the northward course. No eclipse whether the solar or the lunar, could occur on the 10th day of the dark half of any lunar month, whereas the winter solstice invariably occurs in *Paushya* and there was such an occurrence on the specified day on the 17th December 306 A.C. which would be in all likelihood the date of the Uruvapalli grant. In that case, Simhavarma I came to the throne in 296 A. C., and as we have seen that his brother and successor Vishnugopa I was ruling in 320—22 A.C., we may assign the regnal period of Simhavarma I to 296-315 A.C., and then as at would follow, the regnal period of Vishnupopa I would be 315-340 A. C.

The Omgodu (No. 1) plates,[49] which record a grant of Simha varma I's father Vijayaskandavarma *alias* Skandavarma III, are dated in his 33rd regnal year on the 13th lunar day in the 3rd fortnight of winter. These details of date evidently furnish an indication of antiquity, and refer to the three-fold division of the year[50] each including 8 fortnights. The three primitive seasons were—(1) *Vasanta* (spring) or *Grishma* (summer)[51] from the *Phalguna* full moon day to *Ashadha* full-moon; (2) *Varsha* (rain) from the *Ashadha* full moon day to *Kartika* full-moon; and (3) *Sarat*[52] (autumn) or *Hemanta* (winter) from the *Kartika* fullmoon day to *Phalguna* fullmoon; and these three fullmoon days were sometimes considered as the last days and sometimes as the initial days fo their respective seasons; at any rate, the months were always regarded as

48 I.A. V. p. 50.

49 M.E.R. 1916 p. 113.

50 Other instances of the use of this three-fold primitive division of the year are furnished by the Hirahadagalli grant of Pallava Sivaskandavarma (which we shall soon came to), the Dudia grant of the Vakataka king Pravarasena (EI III p. 258), and the grants of the early Kadamba kings Mrigesavarma (I,A, VII p, 37) and Ravivarma (I,A, VI p, 30)

51 E.C, VII Sk, 263,

52 Ibid Sk, 264

Purnimanta (i.e. ending with the full-moonday). The 3rd fortnight of the winter (division) then would be the dark fortnight of *Margasira*; and on the 18th November 290 A.C., the 13th lunar day of the dark fortnight of Margasira coincided with *Dhanus Samkranti* i.e. the day of the Sun's entrance into the 9th Zodiacal sign of Sagiltarius, which day from time immemorial seems to have been held sacred in all South India and more than elsewhere in the Tamil country. In that case Vijayaskandavarma *alias* Skandavarma III came to the throne in 258 A.C. and ruled till 296 A.C. when he was succeeded by his eldest son Simhavarma I.

We have hardly any information as regards the dates of his predecessors Viravarma (*alias* Kumaravishnu II) and Buddhavarma (*alias* Skandavarma II) wherefore we may give them an average reign of a little more than 25 years each, when the regnal period of Viravarma would be circa 228—258 A.C., and that of his father Buddhavarma circa 200—228 A.C., or in round numbers, the death of Kumaravishnu I and the accession of his son Buddhavarma may be placed in 200 A C.

Next we come to Buddhavarma's father Sivaskandavarma *alias* Kumaravishnu I. He was the only Pallava king that had performed several different sacrifices including the *Asvamedha*, and all of those sacrifices he had performed before he had been but 8 years on the throne as is evident from his Hirahadagalli plates[53] issued in his 8th regnal year. He may thus be lookod upon as the first Pallava king that acquired an empire, or in other words the *first* Pallava Emperor, as will be evident if we just contrast his title '*Dharmmamahārājādhirāja*' with that of his father which was merely a '*Mahāraja*' as mentioned in the same plate. Readers may be reminded of a similar instance in the Gupta history, where Chandragupta I, the founder of the Gupta empire as well as of the Gupta era, has been called '*Mahārājādhirāja*', whereas his father Ghatotkacha and grandfather Gupta were merely *Mahārajas*.[54] Thus in one word, it may be said that this Kumaravishnu (*alias* Sivaskandavarma) was to the Pallava dynasty what almost exactly a century later Chandragupta I was to the Gupta dynasty, the founder of the Imperial Line. Now, Kumaravishnu's Hirahadagalli plates issued in his 8th regnal year are dated the 5th day of the 6th fortnight of the rainy season. Here, however, we have a very clear and unambiguous instance of the division of the year into 3 seasons of 8 fortnights each, and we know that each of these divisions was called a '*Chaturmāsya*' (i e. a period of 4 months), though at present that term is applied exclusively to the rainy season. We have already said that the intermediate season of the rains lasted from the full-moon day of *Ashadha* to that of *Kartika*, wherefore its 6th

53 E.I. I. pp. 2-10.

54 F.G.I. Nos. 1, 4, 10, 12, 13.

fortnight would be the bright half of *Asvayuja*, and the day specified in the grant thus would be the fifth lunar day of the bright fortnight of *Asvayuja*. Here also we would seek out some auspicious occasion that coincided with this day, and we would thus assign this grant to Saturday the 18th September 174 A. C. which in addition to being the specified lunar day was also the very auspicious solar day of the autumnal equinox (i.e. *Tula Samkranti* or the *Vishuva* day). In that case Kumaravishnu (*alias* Sivaskandavarma) ascended the throne in 167 A.C. and ruled until 200 A.C.

Though the historicity of the four predecessors of Kumaravishnu cannot be denied, we have scarcely any chronological information relating to them, wherefore we shall just allow them an average reign of some 20 years each, when their respective regnal periods whould be:--

Skandasishya	Circa	147—167 A.C.
Virakurcha	,,	127—147 A.C.
Chuta-Pallava	,,	107—127 A.C.
Kalabhartri	,,	87—107 A.C.

Most probably Kalabhartri himself was the real and historical progenitor of the Pallava dynasty, the beginning of which in that case may be placed at about the end of the first century A. C., and I think that Drona, Asvatthama &c. who have been mentioned in some very much later inscriptions, such as the Kuram plates, Rajasimhesvara shrine inscription, Panamalai inscription, Vayalur pillar inscription, Udayendiram (No. 2) plates &c. are in all likelihood much later additions made to their historical geneology in order to carry it back into the epic times and derive the Pallava descent from those well-known epic heroes, as is quite evident from the fact that Asvatthama, the alleged father of the eponymous Pallava, is regarded as a part-incarnation of God Siva in the Panamalai inscription[55] exactly as Asvatthama, the son of Dronacharya has been described in the epic *Mahā Bhārata*.

Let us now come back to Simhavarma III and his successors. We have seen that Simhavarma III came to the throne in 437 A.C. He must have ruled for more than 22 years, as the *Loka-vibhaga* is dated in his 22nd regnal year. From the Velurpalaiyam plates[56] we know that from this Simhavarma III (who came after Nandivarma) was born the victorious Simhavishnu; and this Simhavishnu, we also know from the *Avantisundari Katha*, was a contemporary of the Ganga king Durvinita,

55 E.I XIX p. 113. प्रथितभुजबलो द्रोणिरंशः पुरारेः। अश्वत्थाम्नोथ तस्मान्निजित गुरुतपोनिर्मलादाविरासी दाम्नायादंग विद्याविसर इव महीवल्लभः पल्लवाख्यः॥'

56 M.E.R. 1911 p. 58.

who, as we have proved in our article on the Ganga Chronology, came to the throne in 478 A.C. and was still ruling in 518 A.C. Now the Kuram plates[57] of Paramesvaravarma I claim that his grandfather Narasimhavarma I defeated the Chalukya king, Pulikesi in several battles, wrote the word 'victory' on his back and destroyed his capital Vatapi. This Pulikesi has been identified with the 2nd king of that name i.e. Pulikesi II and all the scholars have accepted it as a settled fact. But this identification is quite incorrect; for believing with Dr. Fleet who says that the reign of Pulikesi II ended in disaster[58] due to his defeat and the sack of his capital Vatapi by Narasimhavarma I, and assigning that event to 642 A.C. as he has done,[59] we shall see that there would be a long stretch of 200 years between the commencement of the reign of Simhavarma III in 437 A. C. and the 10th or 15th regnal year of his great grand-son Narasimhavarma I (to which this defeat of Pulikesi II may be approximately assigned) when in 642 A. C. he defeated Pulikesi II, and these two centuries would have to be made up by merely 3 successive reigns of Simhavarma III (asc. 637 A. C.), Simhavishnu, and Mahendravarma I (*ob.* 642—10 or 15=632 or 627), or in other words, each of these 3 kings would have an average reign of more than 60 years, which, to say the least of it, seems to be absurd. The alleged contemporaneity of Pulikesi II and Narasimhavarma I therefore readily breaks down, and therewith likewise the story of the disastrous end of the reign of Pulikesi II (*vide* App. B), which is mainly or solely built upon that defeat, so long believed to have been inflicted upon *him* by Narasimhavarma I. The Pulikesi whom Narasimhavarma I claims to have defeated must therefore be Pulikesi I, and *never* his grandson Pulikesi II. As stated in the Aihole inscription (verses 7 and 8), Pulikesi I performed the *Asvamedha*, in connection with which he must have carried on various campaigns to achieve the necessary '*Digvijaya*' (i.e. the conquest of the Quarters), and it is quite possible that one of those expeditions was led against the Pallava king, in which that Chalukya king Pulikesi I was defeated in several battles[60] by perhaps the most formidable among his foes the Pallava king Narasimhavarma I, who further pursued his foe as far as his capital which he took and destroyed. This seems to be confirmed by the Badami inscription, according to which Vatapi or Badami was conquered by Mahamalla,[61] which was no doubt an *alter nomen* of Nara-

57 S.I.I. Vol. I, p, 144.

58 F.K.D. p. 358,

59 Ibid p. 359,

60 Ultimately, however, Pulikesi I must have scored the victory over his Pallava enemy, as otherwise he (Pulikesi I) could not have consummated his *Asvamedha*,

61 F.K D. p. 328.

simhavarma I. Now Pulikesi I came to the throne in about 540 A.C. and died in about 566 or 567 A. C., when he was succeeded by his son Kirtivarma I.

In the Kuram plates again the donor king Paramesvaravarma I claims to have made the Chalukya king Vikramaditya I (i.e. the son and successor of Pulikesi II) take to flight covered only by a rag. This is confirmed by the Rajasimhesvara shrine inscription[62] of Paramesvaravarma I's son Rajasimha *alias* Narasimhavarma II which says that his father was the destroyer of the city of Ravarasika, and Ravarasika we know was a conspicuous *Biruda* of Chalukya Vikramaditya I.[63] Thus defeated, Vikramaditya I, would naturally seek to take his revenge on his adversary Paramesvaravarma I himself, failing which (as perhaps the Pallava king had been dead before the Chalukya could muster strength enough for an equally crushing counteraction), he would take the necessary steps to wreak his vengeance upon the immediate successor or successors of Paramesvaravarma I as ofen as he could until the memory and the weight of his disgrace was entirely wiped out. Thus we learn from the Haiderabad Grant[64] of Vikramaditya I that he trampled upon (or rubbed out) the fame of Narasimha, destroyed the power of Mahendra, and conquered Isvara with a glance, and thus crushed the Pallavas and conquering king Isvarapota, he took Kanchi. These Pallava kings Narasimha, Mahendra and Isvara or Isvarapota would therefore no doubt be the immediate successors of Paramesvara I, in which case Narasimha would be his son and successor Narasimhavarma II, and Isvara or Isvarapota would be Paramesvaravarma II, who was the son and successor of Narasimhavarma II, in that Isvara and Paramesvara, being alike the names of God Siva are synonymous, and Paramesvaravarma II was also known as Paramesvarapotavarma, as is evident from the Kasakudi plates of his immediate successor Nandivarma II; and consequently the intermediate name Mahendra (which stands in the Haiderabad Grant between those of Narasimha and Isvara) could not be the name of any third king, as there was none in the Pallava Geneology, so far known, between Narasimhavarma II and Paramesvaravarma II, but must be the *alter nomen* of Paramesvara II himself, who as is known from his Kailasanatha temple inscription[65] was also known as Mahendra, which the composer of the Haiderabad grant must have evidently mistaken for a new name of an intermediate king. But it may be objected that the apparently three kings, Narasimha, Mahendra and Isvara defeated by Vikramaditya I

62 S.I I, Vol. I. pp. 12-14.
63 F.K D, p. 329,
64 I.A. VI p. 77.
65 S.I.I. Vol. I, pp. 22-23.

might be Narasimhavarma I, Mahendra II and Paramesvaravarma I, who seem to correctly answer to the three plausibly successive names of the Haiderabad grant, and thence it might also be argued that the Pulikesi conquered by Narasimhavarma I was Pulikesi II, on whose death his son Vikramaditya I made a retaliative war against the very Narasimha (who was the vanquisher of his father) and defeated him and not content therewith the same Vikramaditya I made further wars against Narasimha's son Mahendra II as well as (Mahendra's son) Isvara (i.e. Paramesvaravarma I) and took his capital Kanchi, all of which victories against these three Pallava kings he scored between 652 A.C. and 674 A.C., as his Gadval Grant[66] which is dated in 674 A.C. recounts the same, and in fine that Vikramaditya I was entirely defeated by Paramesvaravarma I as is claimed by this Pallava king in his Kuram plates. Now from the Togarchedu plates[67] of Vikramaditya I's son Vinayaditya dated in S. S. 611 (i.e. 689 A.C) which is his 10th regnal year, we know that his father Vikramaditya I seized the city of Kanchi after he defeated the Pallava king (who has not been named), and further also that Vinayaditya, (who was then the crown-prince) was commanded by his father to conquer the Pallava king,[68] and he achieved that end. The most important point to note here is that it was after Vikramaditya I had already once defeated the Pallava king and taken his capital, (which from the Haiderabad grant, we have seen, was taken from Isvarapota) that he again deputed his son Vinayaditya, perhaps this time to make an end of that Pallava, wherefore in the interval between Vikramaditya I's capture of Kanchi and the invasion of Vinayaditya, Vikramaditya I could have known no defeat at the hands of the Pallava. Consequently the defeat that was inflicted upon him by Paramesvaravarma I must be placed, as is reasonable, in the early part of Vikramaditya I's reign; or in other words the offensive must have been first taken by Paramesvaravarma I, and it was that defeat that must have so whetted Vikramaditya I as to drive him to make repeated onslaughts on the Pallavas, king after king, and not content even therewith to send his son Vinayaditya on the same errand, when perhaps he was too old to take the field himself. Thus then the Pallavas whom Vikramaditya I defeated must be the immediate successors (and not predecessors) of Paramesvaravarma I.

It may again be objected that in the Gadval plates, dated 674 A.C., of Vikramaditya I, Paramesvaravarma is said to be the son of Mahendravarma, and this exactly fits in with the relation existent between

66 E. I. X pp. 100-106.

67 I.A. VI pp. 86-87.

68 We have an exactly similar instance in the Vakkaleri plates of Chalukya varma II as we have already seen.

Mahendravarma II and Paramesvaravarma I who were father and son; whereas Paramesvaravarma II was himself Mahendravarma III, and not the son of a Mahendravarma. But it must be remembered that the Gadval plates are not a Pallava record, but an inscription of their enemy the Chalukyas, and as such the composer thereof could not be expected to know the precise consanguinity of those different Pallavas, nor the correct identification of their different names, and a remarkable instance of this ignorance is provided by the Haiderabad grant of Vikramaditya I where the apparently three Pallava kings are mentioned as if detached from and not correlated to each other, as not a word is said about their mutual relationship, and also by the Togarchedu plates of his son Vinayaditya, where not even the name has been mentioned of the Pallava king whom his father as well as he himself defeated. Or we may give an example from the Pallava epigraphs themselves, that of the Mangalur Pikira and Omgodu (No. 2) plates, all of which record the different grants of Simhavarma II, and in all of which the donor's father himself has been called *Yuva mahārāja* Vishnugopa, as if he were a life-long crown-prince and never ruled as king, whereas from later Pallava records we know that he did rule as king. Yet another example may be given from the Pallava records. In his Panamalai inscription Rajasimha *alias* Narasimhavarma II says that he is the son of Paramesvaravarma— 'यो देवादेकमल्लाद्गुह इव परमादीश्वरादात्त जन्मा' (E. I. XIX p. 113) where besides the obvious pun upon the name Paramesvaravarma we also know that '*Ekamalla*' was a *biruda* of Paramesvaravarma I (S.I.I. Vol. I. No. 24). This filiation is borne out by Kasakudi plates, by the Kailasanatha temple inscription (where *Lōkāditya* is an *alter nomen* of Paramesvaravarma I), by the Rajasimhesvara shrine inscription (where *Ugradanda* is a *biruda* of Paramesvaravarma I), and the Vayalur pillar inscription; whereas in Velurpalaiyam plates, Narasimhavarma II is said to be the son's son (पुत्रसूनु) of Paramesvaravarma I.

Next from the Ainuli plates[69] of the 4th regnal year and the Vakkaleri plates[70] of the 11th regnal year of the Chalukya king Kirtivarma II we are informed that the Pallava king Nandipotavarma was twice defeated during the reign of Chalukya Vikramaditya (733–746 A.C.) the father of Kirtivarma II, once by Vikramaditya II himself, and then by Kirtivarma (while he was a crown-prince) at his father's command; both of which defeats were thus inflicted on that Pallava king before Kirtivarma II ascended the Chalukya throne in 746 A. C. The accession of Nandipotavarma to the Pallava throne may therefore be assigned to circa 720 A.C. We know from his own Kasakudi plates[71] that Nandivarma

69 M.A.R. 1909 p. 12-a.
70 E.C. x. Kl. 63.
71 S.I.I. Vol. II. pp. 342-61.

was also called Nandipotaraja, and also that he was the cousin and immediate successor of Paramesvaravarma II, wherefore circa 720 A. C. would also be the last year of the reign of Paramesvaravarma II.

Now if Pulikesi II be the Pulikesi who was defeated by Narasimhavarma I, and if also the three Pallava kings mentioned in the Gadval grant of 674 A.C. as well as the Haiderabad grant as having been overcome by Vikramaditya I (654—682 A.C.) be the three successive kings Narasimhavarma I, Mahendravarma II and Paramesvaravarma I, then assigning the regnal period of Narasimhavarma I to circa 630—660 A. C. (as it should synchronize with the end of Pulikesi II's reign and the beginning of that of Vikramaditya I), we shall have 660—720 A.C. i.e. 60 years at most for the reigns of four successive Pallava kings, viz Mahendravarma II, Paramesvaravarma I, Narasimhavarma II and Paramesvaravarma II i.e. about 15 years on an average for each reign, which seems to be quite implausible. We have therefore to revert to the conclusions we have already arrived at, viz. (1) the Pulikesi claimed to have been defeated by Narasimhavarma I could not be Pulikesi II, but it must be Pulikesi I; (2) it was Paramesvaravarma I who first took the offensive against the Chalukya king Vikramaditya I and defeated him; and (3) the Pallava kings whom Vikramaditya I claims to have defeated are not three as it seems to be, but only two, viz. Narasimhavarma II and his son Paramesvaravarma II, who was also called Mahendravarma III or in fact it was only *one crowned* king Narasimhavarma II who was defeated by Vikramaditya I, for possibly Paramesvaravarma was yet a crown-prince when, after the defeat of his father, he too was defeated by Vikramaditya I. We have already had instances in the Togarchedu, Ainuli and the Vakkaleri plates of crown princes having been commanded by their fathers and sent against their enemy. It is quite possible therefore that after having overcome Narasimhavarma II, when Vikramaditya I marched against Kanchi, it was defended by the crown-prince Paramesvaravarma (whether it was owing to the absence of his father, who had been defeated somewhere far off and had not yet returned to the capital when the Chalukya had already arrived at its gates, or it was at the command of his father, we cannot decide) and for that reason perhaps it has been recorded in that Chalukya's Haiderabad grant that he took Kachi from Isvarapotaraja i.e. Paramesvaravarma. The word '*Raja*' it may be said once for all, need not mean the reigning king himself as it applies also to princes of blood royal and even to feudatory princes as will be evident from the fact that Bhanuvarma, the younger brother of the Kadamba king Ravivarma calls himself Bhanuvarma *Raja*,72 and

72 'श्रीमद्भानुवर्मराजलब्ध पादप्रसादेन......श्री रविवर्म धर्ममहाराजस्य एकादशे संवत्सरे' (I. A. VI. p. 28)

a number of similar instances can be given. If again Paramesvaravarma II has been mentioned by 2 names, viz. Isvara or Isvarapota (which is the same as Paramesvara) and Mahendra, neither of them is a *biruda*, which perhaps as a crown-prince he may not be expected to have, but both the names are those of his ancestors (Isvara or Paramesvara is the name of his grandfather, and Mahendra that of his great grandfather) and it is quite in the fitness of things if he was given both of those names by his father.

Now, the defeats which both Narasimhavarma II and his son the crown-prince Paramesvaravarma suffered at the hands of Vikramaditya I must be placed before 674 A.C., as the same have been mentioned in the Gadval plates of that year. Narasimhavarma II therefore must have come to the throne already before 674 A.C.

These results may now be noted down as follows:—

1.	Simhavarma III	ascended the throne in 437 A. C.
2.	Simhavishnu	was a contemporary of the Ganga king Durvinita, who began to rule in 478 A.C. and was still ruling in 518 A C.
3.	Mahendravarma I	
4.	Narasimhavarma I	defeated Pulikesi I (circa 545-567 A.C.)
5.	Mahendravarma II	
6.	Paramesvaravarma I	defeated Chalukya king Vikramaditya I (652—682 A.C.)
7.	Narasimhavarma II	was defeated by the same Vikramaditya I, and was already on the throne in 674 A.C.
8.	Paramesvaravarma II	was, while a crown-prince, defeated by the same Vikramaditya, before 674 A.C; and also must have ceased to rule in circa 720 A.C.

and in the light of these results, the regnal periods of these kings, with a sufficiently close approximation to the truth, would be:—

1.	Simhavarma III	437—472 A.C.
2.	Simhavishnu	472—520 A.C.
3.	Mahendravarma I	520—555 A.C.
4.	Narasimhavarma I	555—595 A.C.
5.	Mahendravarma II	595—630 A.C.
6.	Paramesvaravarma I	630—660 A.C.
7.	Narasimhavarma II	660—685 A.C.
8.	Paramesvaravarma II	685—720 A.C

It is but natural that the two of the greatest and the most powerful of the South Indian ruling powers of that age, the Pallavas and the Chalukyas should have found themselves in constant conflict with each other. This feud seems to have begun with Simhavishnu, who attempted to thwart the accession (or succession) of the Chalukya king Jayasima *alias* Jayasimha Vallabha in circa 500 A. C., when he was repulsed by Jayasimha's maternal grandfather the Ganga king Durvinita. It was carried on by Simhavishnu's grandson Narasimhavarma I, who defeated that Jayasimha's grandson Pulikesi I in several battles, possibly during the latter's *digvijaya* campaign undertaken in connection with his *Asvamedha* which however he celebrated. If the king of Dramila, against whom, according to the Mahakuta pillar inscription, the Chalukya king Kirtivarma I, the son and successor of Pulikesi I, is said to have been victorious,[73] be a Pallava king (as is plausible enough), then there was another clash in which Kirtivarma I might be said to have paid off his father Pulikesi I's scores to Narasimhavarma I, who had defeated Pulikesi I. Then we have it from the Aihole inscription (634 A.C.) that the rise of the power of Pulikesi II was opposed by the contemporary Pallava king, whose name however has not been mentioned, when that great Chalukya defeated him and marching against his capital Kanchi, made him seek refuge behind its ramparts.[74] This Pallava king would be evidently Mahendravarma II whose reign we have assigned to 595—630 A.C. Then again Mahendravarma II's son Paramesvaravarma I paid off his father's debt to Pulikesi II's son Vikramaditya I, who in his turn cleared off his own debt by paying it back in the same coin to the next two Pallavas, Narasimhavarma II and his son Paramesvaravarma II. Subsequently we know Vinayaditya also marched against Kanchi and defeated Paramesvaravarma II once again. Then again two successive defeats were inflicted upon Paramesvaravarma II's successor Nandivarma II during the reign of the Chalukya king, Vikramaditya II, once by that king himself and next by his son the crown-prince Kirtivarma II. The inevitable result of this natural antagonism of nearly 250 years was that each party came to regard the other as their natural enemy and family foe, as is evident from the occurence of such expressions in the Ainuli and the Vakkaleri plates.

To be Continued.

73 F.K.D. p. 328.

74 आक्रानात्म बलोन्नितं बलरजः सञ्छन्न काञ्चीपुर
प्राकारान्तरित प्रतापमकरोद्यः पल्लवानां पतिम् ॥१९॥
पल्लघानीक नीहार तुहिनेतरादीधितिः ॥३७॥

THE GENEOLOGY OF ARIKESARIN II.

D. L. NARASIMHACHARI, M.A.

Messrs B. V. Krishna Rao and Somasekhara Sarma have laid the Kannaḍa people under a deep debt of gratitude by their publications of the Grants of Arikesarin II and Arikesarin I, respectively. The Ve(le)muluvāḍa inscription of Arikesarin II (J.A.H.R.S. VI, 3 & 4) is of great importance to the students of Kannada literature. The geneology of Arikesarin II that Pampa gives was considered to be not accurate by some scholars. Drs. Bhandarkar and Fleet were unable, for want of sufficient data, to fit on this branch of the Chalukyan family either with the Western or the Eastern Chalukyan geneologies. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao has proved, beyond doubt, that this branch is an independent offshoot of the great Chalukyan family and that the pedigree that Pampa gives is substantially accurate. But his reliance upon the soundness of the Kannaḍa language possessed by Dr. Fleet has led him into some errors in the interpretation of the geneology as given by Pampa. He agrees with the interpretation offered by Dr. Fleet and brushes aside the suggestions given by Mr. Sarma with the curt remark "that Dr. Fleet, who is a greater scholar of the Kanarese than Mr. Sarma, correctly rendered the statements of Pampa Kavi". With due deference to the erudition and depth of Dr. Fleet, I am constrained, to say, on a careful examination of the pedigree as given in the Pampa Bhārata. that Dr. Fleet has blundered many times. This is partly due to the defective nature of the Ms. of Pampa Bhārata that he consulted and partly due to the hyper-critical bent of his mind. Now that a carefully revised edition of the above work has been brought forth by the Kannaḍa Academy with the collaboration of well-known scholars, on the basis of a number of Mss we are in a position to review and correct the interpretation of Dr. Fleet. On the authority of this edition no doubt need be entertained. The references given in the course of this article are to this edition which is designated by P.B. (Pampa Bhārata).

The consolidated geneology of Arikesarin II as given by Pampa may be correctly rendered thus:—

Chālukya Dynasty

⋮

1. Yuddhamalla I
2. Arikesarin I — sons: Narasimha I; Bhadradeva
3. Narasimha I — sons: Dugdhamalla I; Others
4. Dugdhamalla I (Eldest Son) — sons: Baddega; Others
5. Baddega, Solada Ganda (Eldest Son)
6. Dugdhamalla II
7. Narasimha II (married Jakavve)
8. Arikeśarin II.

I shall now proceed to examine the statements of Dr. Fleet concerning some of the chiefs mentioned above. Regarding Arikesarin I, the second chief of this dynasty, Fleet observes 'His son Arikesarin I who with the minister of Bangarishaya penetrated into the kingdom of a certain Nirupama'. Here the correct interpretation ought to be 'with the ministers of Vengi *vishaya*, (*Vengi vishoya mantrigaḷini* P.B. I 20). The reading Bangarishaya does not appear in any of the Mss of Pampa Bhārata, collated by the Kannaḍa Academy. According to Pampa, Arikesarin I had two sons named Narasimha I and Bhadradeva. But Dr. Fleet combines these two names into one and states "His son Narasimha Bhadradeva". This is a misrepresentation of the state of facts as given by Pampa. I quote the stanza in question:

Arikēsari-gātmajar-ari
naropa-ṣirōdaḷana pariratōgrāsi bhayam |
kara-kararā yirvaroḷār
doreyene Narasimha Bhadra-dēvar negaḷdar|| P. B. I. 22

The consistent use of the plural forms *Ātmajar* (Sons), *Bhayan-kara-karar*(they that have fearful arms),and *Negaḷdar*(they became famous) in the above stanza precludes any Kannaḍa scholar to interpret in the way in which Dr. Fleet has done. Moreover the word *irvarol* (in the two) clearly signifies that Narasimha and Bhadradeva were separate and not identical. So, the suggestion of Mr. Sarma that Arikesarin I had two sons can stand the test of criticism and I can say that Dugdhamalla I is the son of Narasimha I. But, according to Pampa, he ought to be the eldest son (Agrasutam) of Narasimha I. Similar is the case with Baddega

entitled *Sōladuganḍa*, who must be the eldest son (Periyamaga m) of Dugdhamalla I. Both these imply that Narasimha I and Dugdhamalla I had each more sons than one. Proceeding further we come to Narasimha II, the seventh chief in the geneology given above, who is the son of Dugdhamalla II the eldest son of Baddega. Fleet makes some interesting remarks about this Narasimha II. He observes, of course on the basis of the Ms. of Pampa Bhārata he consulted, that "his son Narasimhadeva whose preceptor was Muni subhadra, who gave a province to Eṛapa, subdued the seven chiefs of Māḷava......and defeated a king named Mahipāla" The stanzas alleged to give out this information are these, according to the revised edition:

Mānkarisadaṟivu guru vacha
namkuṣamam pāḻi yedege poṉardari belamam |
kimkoḷe mā [*ḻpede-gaṉame*] *ni*
ramkuṣa menisidudu munisu Bhadramkusa[*nā*]
|| P.B.I. 32

Taṟisandu lāḻarol ta
ḻtiṟidēṟam pēḻe kēḷdu manḍaḷaminnum |
tiṟu-nirikku[?]*vudenisida*
taṟisalowina calada baladā kali Narasimhām||
P.B.I. 33

Of the above two stanzas the first does not give any support to Dr. Fleet's statement that the preceptor of Narasimha II was Muni Subhadra. But the stanza has got a variant in two of the Mss designated by the editors as ka and kha of which ka is the book edited and printed in 1898 by Lewis Rice. The stanza runs thus:—

Mantarisadaṟivu guru vacha
dāntuḷu samapāḻi yedege poṉardire chālamam||
tintoḷe mārpoḍe guna mō
rante nisargame subhadra muni pumgavanā||

The stanza, as it is, is entirely out of place in the description of the geneology of Arikesarin II. It is incredible that Pampa who does not mention even his own *guru* in this work as well as that of his own patron should have referred to the preceptor of the father of Arikesarin II. Moreover, the meaning of the stanza cannot be accurately construed. The oldest Ms. of Pampa Bhārata, the one now available in the Ms library at Arrah, does not give this stanza. There are many words in common between the revised reading and the one accepted by Dr. Feet. On these grounds it can be said that the stanza on the basis of which Fleet made his statement is not accurate and so the view that the preceptor of Narasimha II was Muni Subhadra is not sound. '*Bhadrankuśa*' as well as '*Sakala Lōkāśraya*', (P.B.I. 34), and *Ḍāla priya*' (P.B.I. 38) are the

titles that Pampa bestowed upon the father of his own patron. Again the statement that Narasimha II gave a province to Eṛapa has no basis to stand upon. Though the stanza is full of scribal errors and cannot be accurately interpreted it does not seem to give the idea that Eṛapa received a land-gift from Narasimha II. Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao has disproved the statement that Narasimha II subdued the seven chiefs of Māḷava. The word Māḷava is not found in stanza 35 and elsewhere in this particular context in any Ms. The word is '*Māḻamumam*' which probably corresponds to '*ēḍu māḍemulu*' as suggested by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao. The fact that Narasimha II defeated a certain king named Mahipāla finds support in one of the introductory stanzas of the Sanskrit Drama 'Chanda Kausika' by Ārya Kshemēswara who lived in the tenth century (A. A. Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature, pp. 366)

Next, we come to a most important point in the geneology of Arikesarin II. Dr. Fleet remarks that 'the poet's patron, Arikesarin II was the son of Yuddhamalla II, that his wife was Chandrānana and that his territory was called the Joḷa country i.e. the land of the great millet. Pampa does not mention anywhere that the name of the wife of Dugdhamalla II was 'Chandrānana' or any other. He is simply silent about this. The name of the wife of Narasimha II is Jakavve according to Pampa. The epithets '*Chandrānana*' and '*Viḷōḷanīḷāḷake*' are only words qualifying her beauty. As such the name 'Chandrānana' does not occur in the whole geneology of Arikesarin II as far as Pampa is aware of it. This is not the only place wherein Pampa says that Jākavve is the wife of Narasimha II. He states in another place (P.B. XII 132) that Arikesarin II was born of Narasinga and Jakavve. So the statement of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao that Mr. Sarma makes Arikesarin II the son of his own elder brother Narasimha II needs modification. In fact, Narasimha II is the father of Arikesarin II.

From the above discussion, it is clear that Dr. Fleet did not give a faithful interpretation of the geneology of Arikesarin II as Pampa gave it. All that we can say is that he was a bit careless while doing so. The suggestions of Mr. Sarma could have been treated by Mr. B. V. K. Rao with more courtesy and consideration. In the light of this Ve(le)muluvāḍa inscription of Arikesarin II, the opinion expressed by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya, in the M.A.R. for 1916 (pp. 46 para 70), that the Chalukyan chief Narasinga mentioned in the inscription at Kukaraballi near Mysore is the father of the patron of Pampa, I think, needs revision. The minor Chalukyan chiefs mentioned here may probably be the descendants of Bhadradeva or the other sons of Dugdhamalla I and Baddeya mentioned in the above pedigree and this Narasimha may be one of these. These chiefs must have migrated from their original abode, probably due

to political expediency, to the south of Mysore. This view is not entirely conjectural. Sōmadēva, the author of 'Yasastilaka Champu' in the colophon at the end of the book writes as follows:—

शक नृपकालातीत संवत्सर शतेष्वष्टसु एकशीत्यधिकेषु सिद्धार्थ संवत्सरान्तर्गत चैत्रमास मदन त्रयोदस्यां पाण्डवसिंह लोच चेरमप्रभृतीन् महीपतीन् प्रसाध्य मेल्वादी प्रवर्धमान राज्यप्रभावो श्रीकृष्णराजदेवे सति तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनः समधिगत पञ्चमहा शब्द महासामन्ताधिपते श्चालुक्यकुलजन्मनः सामन्तचूडामणेः श्रीमदरिकेसरिणः प्रथम पुत्रस्य श्रीमहाग्रराज प्रवर्धमान वसुधाराणां गंगधारायां विनिर्मित मिदं काव्यमिति

From the above it is clear that in 959 A.D. one Vāgarāja, eldest son of Arikesari, the feudatory chief of Krishnaraja III, was ruling over the Ganga country. This Vāgarāja may be the son of Arikesari II through his wife Rēvaka-rinumaḍe mentioned in line 48 of Vē(le)muluvāḍa grant. Hence it may be presumed that other members of the family might have come over to Mysore earlier than or with Vāgarāja.

A word is necessary about the 'Joḷa-country or the land of the great millet' which has been made much of. Pampa does nowhere mention that there was such a country. Both Dr. Fleet and Lewis Rice have mis-construed the meaning of the word '*Jeḷaḍa pāḷi*' which occurs in stanza 50, canto XIV of P.B. It means 'gratitude in return for the food given by another'. There are other literary usages of this word which in all cases means the same thing as above. (See Karnataka Kavicharite I.p. 31 ff) So it is clear that there was no such country as Joḷa-country and Pampa did never mean it.

Regarding the capital of Arikesarin II, Mr. B. V. K. Rao has proved that it was not Puligere. He has found other evidences which state that there was another chief, a contemporary of Arikēsarin II, ruling over Puligere. It is obvious that two chiefs cannot rule over the same province with the same capital at the same time. So the capital of Arikēsarin II must have been some other town. The *agrahāram* of Dharmavaram which was bestowed upon Pampa with an inscriptional charter (P. B. XIV. 56) for his poetry cannot be the modern Dambhol near Dharwar as Arikesarin II had no control over the Puligere three hundred province in which that village was situated. It must be, as Mr. B. V. K. Rao suggests another village of the same name 'in the vicinity of Kollipāka'. Pampa's object in writing the Stanza in which Puligere occurs (P. B. XIV, 58) was only to suggest that he was writing in the purest and 'pithy Kannada of Puligere'. Other poets also considered that the dialect of Kannada around Puligere was a standard one (See Kavirāja mārga I. 36; Gadāyuddha I, 37).

Before I conclude this article, I may venture to make a suggestion regarding the authorship of the text of the Vē(le)muluvāḍa grant of Arikesarin II. Pampa has almost literally translated the two stanzas, Nos. 3 and 4 of this inscription in his Pampa Bhārata (Compare P. B. I. stanzas 16, 17). Even the obscure word पोद्न, whose reading is indicated by the editor of the inscription as uncertain, and which occurs in line 13, is to be found in the stanza No. 17 of P. B. I. in its derivedform (*tadbhava*) 'bōdana' to which the editors of P.B. have given the meaning viz. 'a water tank made of cement'. Pampa, a great poet as he was, could not have condescended to translate the stanzas of this inscription if its author were any other inferior versifier. Moreover Pampa himself was capable of composing verses in Sanskrit as is evidenced by a few stanzas, which are entirely in the Sanskrit language, occuring in his two works. On these grounds, one is led to suggest that the composer of this inscription must have been Pampa himself.

A STUDY OF TELUGU ROOTS

DR. C. NARAYANA RAO, M.A., L.T., Ph.D.

(Continued from page 7 of Vol VI Part 1)

(39) mu.

(a) Roots in *n*, *mp*, *mbh*, or *m*:—ōmu (*van*); tunumu, tuṟumu (*tṛimph*), chirumu (*jṛimbh*), adumu(*dam*), kadumu(*kram*),

(b) Prefix plus root in m:—arumu, alamu(*ākram*); usumu(*udyam*) orumu(*upakram*), pulumu(*pralump*);

(c) Past passive participle:—gadumu(*gaditam*); tsadumu, tsaṟumu chidumu, cheṟumu(*chittam*); tuṟumu(*truṭitam*); nōmu(*nutam* or *nuttam*), etc.

(d) Denominative:—nulumu(*unmūlana*), poḍamu(*sphuṭam*) etc.

(40) mmu.

(a) Root in *m*:—krammu(*krām*); nammu(*narm*);

(b) Past passive participle:—tummu(*kshutam*);

(c) Denominative:—chimmu, jimmu(*syandanam*, *sēchanam*), pammu(*pravartanam*); prammu(*parivēshanām*); etc.

(41) yu.

(a) Roots in *ś*, ṣ, *s*, *ch*, *j*, kṣ:—

amayu(*makṣ*), arayu(rakṣ, *lakṣ*), alayu(*alas*), aviyu(*vraśch*), iḍ(ṟ)iyu (*riś*, *riṣ*), elayu (*laṣ*), ēyu(*iṣ*), kala(i)yu (*kriṣ*.*karṣh*), kiniyu(*kli*, or from *khinna*), kudiyu (kuts), kūyu(*kūj*), keḍayu(*kliś*, *kṛiś*), krikkiriyu (*kṛiś kṛis*) kroyu(*kruñch*), giyu (*kṛish*), tēyu (*tij*, *tish*), ḍ(d)ūyu(*dush*), dor(ṟ)ayu(*dṛiś*), pariyu(*pṛish*, *pṛish*,)pāyu(*bhaj*, *pāṁs*, *apas*); poṟ(r)ayu(*prush*), polayu(*plush*), pōyu(*prōksh*, *prōsh*), malayu(*mlaś*), mur(ṟ)iyu(*mṛiś*), ṟ(r)ēyu(*rich*, *rij*), rōyu (*rush*,*ruś*), lāyu(*lash*, *las*), vrēyu(*vraśch*), solayu(*su alas*) etc.

(b) Prefix plus root:—ārayu(*ālaksh*, *āruksh*), uṟ(r)iyu(*udrich*), uliyu(*udras*), oḍiyu(*avadhṛish*), olayu(*ullas*), neṟ(r)ayu(*nirviś*), bigiyu (*vikṛish*, *vikṛiś*), beḍiyu(*vidṛiś*), bel(r)ayu(*virach*), meṟayu(*vilas*), valayu (*avalash*), viriyu(*virich*), velayu(*vilas*);

(c) Prefix and root plus '*ya*':—penayu(*pi* or *apinahya*);

(d) Root plus 'ish':—eg(v)ayu(*ēdh*), kadiyu(*skad*), kaniyu *klām*), kamiyu(*kram*, or klam); kaviyu(*kram*), guniyu(*kvan*), tsadiyu, chidiyu *cchid*), chenayu(*svid*), chelayu(*chal*), dzaḍiyu(*chal*), *slath*, *srath*, *śabd*), nōyu(*nud*); paḍayu(*pad*, *pat*), muḍiyu(*mṛi*), maḍiyu(vṛidh), valiyu(vyariś);

(e) *Avyaya* plus root:—eḍayu(*prithakkṛi*);

(f) *Avyaya* plus root:—solayu(*su alas*);

(g) Prothetic '*y*':—oḍiyu(*uḍḍī*), māyu (*mlai*, *mlā*), miḍiyu, viḍiyu (*viḍī*), oliyu(*ullā*), etc.

(h) Root plus passive '*ya*':—kōyu(*kṛity*), krāyu(grivy), mōyu(*vahy*)

(i) Noun and root '*sya*' futural:—taḍayu(*taṭasthā*), morayu, mrōyu(*mukha ras*);

(j) Past passive participle plus '*ishy*':—vaḍiyu(*udita*);

(k) Denominative:—taniyu(*tṛishṇā*), puliyu(*puti*), muguyu, monayu (*mukha*);

(l) Adjective plus '*ish*':—teliyu(*dhavala*);

(m) buliyu, cf. Hindi būlā.

(42) yyu.

(a) Root plus '*ya*':—

krayyu(*kṛish*), groyyu(*kriś*, *kruñch*), ḍayyu, dayyu(*dhṛish*), ḍuyyu duyyu(*dush*), treyyu(*traksh*), bruyyu(*bhraś*); etc.

(43) ru.

(a) Root in *ch*- *ś*, *sh*, *s*, *r*, etc:—

amaru(*mraś*, *mrash*); āru(*ās*, *aṭ*); kamaru(klam); kasaru(*karsh*, *gharsh*); kēru(*gṛī*); kōru(*karsh*); tsūru(*śush*), talaru, tūru(*stṛi*), tiru, tūru (*tṛi*), timuru, tivuru(*tvar*), pēru(*pṛī*), pēru (prāk. *puar*), vāru(*vraśch*) etc.

(b) Reduplication of root:—aḍ(d)aru, aduru(*aṭ aṭ*),etc.

(c) Root plus '*kṛi*':—eguru(*ēdh kṛi*);

(d) Root plus '*ish*':—eduru(*rudh*), chiduru. chīṛu gīṛu (chid), toḍaru(*tuḍ*), padaru(*vad*), paduru(*pat*), viduru, bedaru, pīru (*bhid*), maduru(*mad*), muduru(*vṛidh*), musaru, mūru(mush), etc.

(e) Root plus '*aṭ*':—esaru, ēsaru(*ēsh*), kosaru(*kuñch*), krummaru (*kram*), tsamaru(*śam*), pokāru(bhaj), musaru(*mush*), vanduru(*vyadh*), vadaru vanaru(vad), etc.

(f) Prefix plus root:—udaru(*ud* aṭ), nimu(vu)ru(*nirmṛis*);

(g) Prefix and root plus '*ish*':—pāru(*pravṛit*), vēsa(*sā*) ru (*vyas*) etc.

(h) Prefix plus past passive participle plus '*aṭ*':—onaru, ponaru, monaru(*upapanna*) etc.

(i) Past passive participle:—chedaru(*cchidra*), etc.

(j) Past passive participle plus '*ish*':—eḍaru(*viddha*);

(k) Past passive participle plus '*aṭ*':—kaduru, kodaru(*khadita* or *kṛita*), kuduru, kūru(*kṛita*),

(l) Denominative:—ḍākuru(*dakshiṇa kṛi*), tsamaru(*cf. chapēṭa*).

(44) Ru.

(a) Root in *ś*, *sh*, *s*, *ṛi* etc.:—aṟu, āṟu(*arś*), ēmaru(*vismṛi*), kēṟu(*kash*), dūṟu(*dush*), māṟu(*mlaś*);

(b) Reduplicated root:—īḍēṟu(*ish,ish*), daddaṟu(*tvar tvar*);

(c) Root plus '*ish*':—echchiṟu(*vṛidh*), krammaṟu(*kram*), givuṟu, gīṟu, chīṟu, jīṟu(*cchid*), dzāṟu(*sṛi*, *srav*, *slath*), tāṟu, tēṟu(*tṛī*).

(d) Prefix plus root:—pāṟu(*prasṛi*);

(e) Prefix plus root plus '*ish*':—pāṟu(*pravāḥ*).

(45) RRu.

(a) Root:—dzuṟṟu(*jush*), kuṟṟu(*kūj*);

(46) lu.

(a) Past passive participle:—

agalu, agulu, aulu(*khāta*, *ghāta*); adalu, aḍalu(*cf.* H. *ḍar*); isaḍilu (*śithilita*); echchirilu(**vardhyitā*); eḍalu (**bhittā*); elu(*ēdhita*); oralu, Rōlu (*rudita*); kadalu, kudulu(*skhalita*, *skadita*, *skudita*); kanalu, kanārilu(cf. Skt. *kanala=shining*); kamalu, kālu, kumulu, kumārilu(*klamita*); kudikilu(*skudita*); kuppatilu(*gūrvita*); kummarilu(*kumphita*); kusulu, kūlu (*knñchita*); keralu(*kūjita*, *krudhdha*); krālu(*krānta*); krañgilu(*kruñchita*); krōlu (*grihīta*, *kṛishṭa*); chindilu(*cchindita*); chikilu(*chakita*); chiṭilu, chiṭlu, dīlu, ḍīlu, saḍalu(*śithila*); chīlu(**chita*); tsa(d)ikilu(*sadita*); tsālu(*sādhita*); tagulu, tavulu, taulu(*stagita*); tar(ṟ)alu, tarlu, ter(ṟ)alu(*tarita*); tūlu(*dhūta*); toḍikilu(*truṭkṛita*); toṭrilu(*tōtrita*); doñgilu (*taskarita*); nogulu(*nud kṛita*); pagulu(*bhakta*); pigulu, pīlu, pekalu, pegalu, pēlu(**bhikta*) or (*bhid-kṛita*); podalu(*vardhita*); poralu, porlu(*pravartita*); pogulu, povulu(*plush-kṛita*); prēlu(**bṛūta*); baḍalu, vaḍalu, vadalu, vadulu vidalu(*bādhita*); malu, mrālu (*mlāta*); muñgilu(*mukharita*); mu(*mru*) chchilu(*mushita*) ragulu(*rañjita*); Rōlu *rāsita*); vaṟalu(*vartita*); vasulu(*apasarīta*); vālu, vrālu(*avapāta*); vīlu (*vihita*); vidulu, veḍalu, velalu(*vikṛita*); velikilu(*bahishkṛita*); vēlu, vrēlu (*vidhṛita*, *vivṛita*): sōlu(*śramita*).

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle:—āgubbatilu(*āgūrvita*);

(47) llu.

(a) Past passive participle:—

allu(*vallita*); uḍkillu(*ushñīkṛita*); egasillu(*ēshkṛita*); kaṇṭagillu, (*kaṇṭkita*); kattarillu, tattarillu(*tvarita*); krammarillu(*kramishita*); gilu (*kshata*, *kshipta*); gūnugillu(*khunjita*, *kuñchita*); chippillu(*kshipta*); chemmagillu(*tīm kṛita*); tsallu, chellu(*talaḍillu*, *chālita*): tsāgillu(*sādh kṛita*); tsoppillu, dzobbillu(*kshubhita*); ṭhavaṇillu(*sthānita*); ḍullu, ḍollu(*śithilita*); tārasillu(*dharshita*); ṭuppaṭillu(*tarpita*); toṭrillu(*truṭita*); tēlagillu(*dhṛita*, *kṛita*, *tarita kṛita*); daṇḍasillu(*daṇḍita*); daddaṟillu, daddirlu(*trasta*); durapillu (*dūshāpita*); dusikillu(*dushkṛita*); dūpillu, dūpaṭillu(*tṛishāpita*);

nitrillu(*nishṭhita*); pikkaṭillu(*prithakkrita, vardhita*); chippillu(*cchidāpita*); pellagillu(*prithakkrita*); baṇḍigillu(*bandīkrita*); bānagillu(*balātkrita*); bīt-agillu(*prithakkrita*); beṇḍagillu(**bhind-krita*); beggillu, beggaḍillu(*bharjita*); bollu(**brūta*); bōragillu(cf. Hindi *bōltā*); mandaṭillu(*mandita*); mampillu(*mudāpita*); mēṭillu(*mahita*); moraṭillu(*mukharita*); Rantillu, rollu(*raṭita*); loggaḍillu (*rugṇa*, **rōgita*); sannagillu(*slaksñīkrita*); sompillu(cf. *sundara*); hechchi-llu, hechchirillu, (*vardhita*); etc.

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle:—

āvaṭillu(*āpatita*); ūṛaḍillu(*ucchvsita*); ūsarillu(*utsarita*); aḍagillu (*vidhrita*): emaṛillu(*vismarita*); oḍḍagillu, ottagillu, ottillu(*upahata*); ollagillu(*upahrita*); ōṭillu, ōhaṭillu(*avahrita*); ōḍigillu, ōragillu(*avahrita*); depparillu(**āpadita* for *apanna*); paridhavillu(*paristhāta*); pallaṭillu(*paryasta*) pāyagillu(*apāsta*); etc.

(48) ḷu.

Past passive participle:—tāḷu(*sthāta, dhrita*);

(49) ḷḷu.

Past passive participle:—kuḷḷu, kruḷḷu(*karśita*); treḷḷu(*truṭita*); truḷḷu(*dripta*); veḷḷu(*vidhrita*); saḷḷu(*ślathita*);

(50) vu.

(a) Softening of final gu and gu:—aṛuvu(*riś*); aluvu(*rush*); uḍuvu (*avahri*); uvu(*udvīj*); esavu(*ēsh*); oduvu(*vardh*); osavu(*upās*); ōvu(*udahri*); cheruvu(*chaksh*); chelavu(cchid); tsaduvu(*śabd*); taḍavu(*taḍ*); talavu(*trī*); tavu(*sthag*); toḍuvu(*dhrita*); trāvu(*trish*); ta(*tra*)vvu(*taksh, traksh*); etc.

(b) Root:—avu(*bhū*, Prak. *hō, ō, a, u, avu*).

(51) vvu.

(a) ovvu(*udāhri*); kavvu(*cf. kavala*=a morsel); kivvu(*kliś*); chivvu(*cchidāp*) travvu, trevvu(*traksh*);

(52) su.

There are no roots in Telugu ending in '*su*', but one such 'parasu' has been recorded. This may after all be a Hindūsthāñī verb and perhaps is to be connected with Sanskrit *sārasa* or *sadriśa*.

9. It will be seen from the detailed examination made above of Telugu verbal bases that every one of the endings can be accounted for on a Prākṛitic basis. The meaning of the Telugu verbal bases and the Sanskrit roots given above are almost the same and Prākrit forms of the Sanskrit originals can easily be derived according to the rules of the Prākrit grammarians. The examples given can in many cases be paralleled from one or other of the Prākrits but the predominant feature will be found to accord with the Apabhraṁśa form of the Prākṛit in so far as every one of the forms in Telugu ends in '*u*'. This is prominent in

Sindhi and some other Modern Aryan languages. The course and development of Telugu, as, in fact, of any language whatsover, is very composite and complex, and requires great patience and perseverence to unravel all the ramifications of the various Prākṛitic elements that have contributed to the structure of the language. Some attempt had been made by Telugu grammarians to separate the various Prākṛitic elements in Telugu, but their attention was confined only to a small portion of the vocabulary and not at all to the structure of the language. Their investigation was confined only to the affinities among the six main Prākṛits generally dealt with in Prākṛit grammars which were written at a time when all touch with the living Prākṛits was lost. Even now, our sources for the study of the Prākṛits are mostly of the same character, but we are in a better position now because the principles of modern philology will help us a great deal in proceeding much further than the ancient grammarians could have gone.

10. The examples given above may not in all cases be correct; they should be taken only as indications of the way in which to pursue the investigation in the matter. It is in the very nature of things impossible to find the exact Prākṛit equivalents of Telugu basic forms because Telugu is a living language and embraces all the aspects of human life, while such extant prākṛit literature as we possess is concerned mostly with a particular phase of it. Much of the vocabulary, therefore, of the Prākṛits is hidden from us and it may be suggested that the original living Prākṛit words and forms still parade defore us in a much disguised form. It would be the task of modern philology to find them out. It will not do to turn our faces from this problem but a serious attempt has to be made to see if it is possible to bring the Dravidian languages in line with the other modern Aryan languages of India. There will be time enough to resort to extra- Indian affinities if this hypothesis falls to the ground. My purpose in presenting this paper before the scholars assembled here is certainly not to claim finality to my views but only to draw pointed attention to a point of view which has been completely neglected since the time of Caldwell. The humble effort made in this paper will have been amply rewarded if others also take up the problem and work in the same direction, so that it will become possible to exchange views, which is, after all, the purpose of this Conference.

CAPITAL OF THE BRHATPHALAYANAS.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A.

Elsewhere[1] I am showing that, among the successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan, the Śālaṅkāyanas were reigning at Veṅgī even in the 2nd century A. D. and that the Salakēnoi and their premier city Bēnagouran (possibly a mistake for Bēṅgaouron = Vēṅgapura) mentioned in the Geography (VII. i. § 79) of Ptolemy (circa 140 A.D.) are to be identified with the Śālankāyanas and their capital Vēṅgīpura respectively. In the present note, we shall see that most probably the Bṛhatphalāyanas were also a ruling power during the suzerainty of the Sātavāhanas.

The only copper-plate grant of the dynasty, belonging to king Jayavaṁma (Jayavarman) Bṛhatphalāyana was discovered at Kondamudi, a place in the Tenali Taluq of the Kistna District, Madras Presidency (Ep. Ind. VI. 315). The grant was issued in the 10th regnal year of Jayavarman from *vijaya-khaṁdhāvārā nagarā kudūrā!ō*, i.e., the vijayaskandhāvārā of the town of Kudūra. It is for this reason that scholars have taken Kudūra (modern Gudura, near Masulipatam) to be the capital where the Bṛhatphalāyanas ruled. Prof. Dubreuil, as for instance, writes: "The Kondamudi plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI. p. 315) are dated in the 10th year of king Jayavarman, of the Bṛhalphalāyanas, who reigned at Kudūra"; and again: "The town of Kudūra, which was the capital of Jayavarman in the third century of the christian era, is but the modern village of Gudūra, which is 4 miles west-north-west of Masulipatam and 6 miles from the village of Ghaṇṭāśālā..." (Ancient History of the Deccan, pp. 84—5). The Professor has rightly identified the place with Koddoūra (135° 11° 20′) in the country of Maisōlia (Masulipatam), mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy (VII. i. 15)

It is, however, interesting to note that Koddour has been mentioned not as a metropolis, but only as an ordinary place by Ptolemy, who is believed to have written his Geography in the middle of the 2nd century A. D. The archaic characters used in the Kondamudi inscription

1 An "*Epigraphic Note*" on the "*Geneology of the Salankayanas*" to be published shortly in the Ind. Hist. Quart.; also the author's forthcoming work, *The Successors of the Sâtavâhanas in the Eastern Deccan.*

and its phraseological connection with the grants of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāvi assign the grant to the early years of the 3rd century A. D. Should we, then, believe that the Bṛhatphalayanas became a ruling power just after the decline of the Śātavāhanas in the end of the 2nd century and established themselves at Kudūra (= Koddoura) from where they issued charters as early as the beginning of the 3rd century A. D? It is, however, far more natural to think that they were originally a local ruling power under the suzerainty of the Śātavāhanas and gradually rose to prominence after the latter's decline.

The city of Kudūra has been called a *Vijaya-skandhāvāra* in the Kondamudi plates. The word *skandhāvāra* generally means "a camp", but according to the Lexicographer Hemachandra it may also mean "a metropolis". While on expedition, oriental kings are known to have held courts in camps. The use of the term *skandhāvāra* in the sense of metropolis is most probably due to such a practice. *Skandhāvāra* (as also possibly the term *vāsaka*) appears to mean a temporary-residence and, therefore a temporary cepital, of a king. It is then very doubtful whether Kudūra, the "victorious *skandhāvāra*" of Jayavarman, could be the permanent capital of the Bṛhatphalāyanas.

The town of Kudūra, which was the political centre of Kudūrahāra, i. e., the Kudūra District, has been identified, as we have already seen, with a village in the Bandar or Masulipatam Taluk. Kondamudi plates appear to prove that this region was a part of the Bṛhatphalāyana kingdom in the early years of the 3rd century A.D. The capital of the Bṛhatphalāyanas seems, therefore, to be somewhere not far from the Masulipatam region.

In this connection, it is very interesting to note that Ptolemy makes mention of the *metropolis of Petūndra (135° 12°) in the country called Maisōlia (Masulipatam)*. This Pitūndra metropolis has been identified by Prof. Sylvain Lēvi with Pihunda of the Uttarādhyāyana and Pithuḍa of the Hatigumpha inscription of king Khāravela. We have seen that the Bṛhatphalāyanas ruled over the Masulipatam region, which is to be identified with the Maisōlia of Ptolemy. Pitūndra (135° 12°), which was the capital of Maisōlia in the time of Ptolemy (circa 140 A. D.) and was situated very near Kudūra (= Koddoura 135° 11° 20′), appears therefore almost certainly to have been the capital of Jayavarman Bṛhatphalāyana, ruler of the Masulipatam region in the early years of tho 3rd century A. D.

If we now accept the reading *pithuḍa* in a passage of the Hatigumpha inscription and the interpretation that king Khāravela of Kalinga besieged the city of Pithuḍa, it is not impossible to think that the Bṛhatphalāyanas were ruling at Pithuḍa (= Pitūndra) as early as the time of Khāravela (2nd or 1st century B. C.)

THE INSCRIPTION OF THE SIVA TEMPLE AT PURNAPATNA.

SRI LAKSHMINARAYAN HARICHANDAN JAGADEB.

There is a station named Purnapatna on the way to Parlakimidi from Naupada Railway Station. Formerly in that place there was a Fort and a town. So it is termed as Patna. It is supposed that the ancient rulers of Parlakimidi had their capital here. The present rulers of Parlakimidi have founded their capital in Parlakimedi. So the former capital is called Old Patna or Puranapatna in Oriya In Puranapatna there is a goddess. This Goddess which bestows the gifts of safety, is seated in the posture of lotus seat (padmasana). The people of this part devoutedly worship this Goddess. It is persumed that this Goddess might have been the guardian angel of Parlakimidi. Not far from the seat of this Goddess, on the banks of the river Mahendratanaya is situated the Sivalaya Neelakanṭeswara. There are four Sivalayas in four corners of it. Generally in front of the Sivalaya is a Mandapa to locate the Bull; but in front of this Sivalaya is a 'Mukhasali temple' where the Bull is located. To the east of this Mukhasali temple there is a Mandapa in which another big Bull made of stone is placed. There are gateways to the East, West and South of this Mukhasali. To the north of this Mukhasali temple, there is a separate temple of Mahishamardani (Goddess) facing to the South and in front of it is a small Sivalaya with Sivalinga in it. On a rock, at the inside top of the Southern gate of the said Mukhasali temple are two inscriptions carved separately in Oriya script by one person on two subjects. The first is in 1713 Sakabda, 1791 A. D. in 25th Anka of Gajapati Narayan Deb Rajah of Parlakimidi and in the Gajapati Era 112; the Mukhasali temple was constructed in front of the Neelakanṭeswara temple. The second tells that Jagannath Narayan Deb's eldest son, the said Gajapati Deb constructed the Mukhasali as told in the first inscription of Neelakanṭeswara and appointed seven families of Pandas as worshippers. Up to this date, these seven families of Pandas are worshipping the seven gods and goddesses within the compound of Neelakanṭeswara. From the letters of the inscription and the mode of carving, it is evinced that the second followed the first within a short time. The Rajah of Parlakimidi named Narahari Narayan Deb conquered Mulikikhan, the Nawab of Chicacole. The sword by which Mulikikhan's head was cut off, is named 'Mulikimardan Khanda' which is preserved in Parlakimidi. From that date, in

memory of that conquest an Era is observed hereditarily in Parlakimidi Royal family. Calculating from that date. it is 112 Gajapati years up to the time of Gajapati Narayan Deb and this year relates to the numerical figure 112 found in the inscription. This Rajah reigned from 1694—1724 Sakabda (1772—1802 A. D.) The dimensions of the inscribed stone slab is 4 ft by 9 inches. Both the inscriptions are inscribed in Oriya language and in Oriya script. Both the inscriptions are each inscribed in 5 lines. The first line of the second inscription is commenced from the top of the first inscription and runs by the side of the first inscription. Outside the gate where the above said inscriptions are, we find at the top of the gate Siva with Parvati carved on a stone. There are also two human figures standing near Siva and Parvati. We find also two names Viz., Rasya Maharana & Ramayya, inscribed which perhaps relate to the sculptors who constructed the Mukhasali temple.

Reading of the 1st Inscription.

1 श्रीशुभमस्तु वीरश्री गणपतिगोडेश्वर[1] नवकोटि कर्ण्णाटक कलवर केश्वर

2 श्री वीरवीराधिवर श्रीगजपति छत्पति श्रीगजपतिनारायणदेवमहाराजा-

3 ङ्कर २५ पञ्चिसि अङ्क विरोधिकृतिसम्वत्सर भाद्रव कृष्ण येकादशी गुरु (वार) दिन एमु-

4 खस्यालि[2] उच्छ[3] देउल निर्वाण हेला ।।११२।। श्रीगणपतिनारायणदेव कृत्यए

5 गतशकाब्दा: ११७३।।

Reading of the second inscription.

1 वीरश्री गजपति गौडेश्वर नवकोटि कर्ण्णाटक कलवरकेश्वर श्री वीराधिवीर श्रीगजपति छत्पति जगन्नाथ नारायणदेवमहा

2 राजाङ्कर येष्ठपुत्र गजपतिदेवमहाराजा

3 श्रीश्रीमहाराजाङ्क आज्ञाप्रमाणे श्री नी

4 लकण्ठेश्वरङ्क मुकुसालि[2] [उ] च्छ[3] देउल निर्वाण[4]

5 रे ७ हर[5] पण्डादि ए नियुक्त समस्त विषयरे ।।

1 गौडेश्वर 2 मुखसालि, मुखशालि, मुखचालि 3• उच्च

4 निर्माण 5 घर

Brief translation of the 1st inscription.

Sri Gajapati Narayan Deb Maharajah who was the king of Gowda, Karnata and etc. kingdoms constructed a big Mukhasali temple in his 25th reigning year 112 Gajapati year on Thursday the 11th day of Dark fortnight of Bhadrapada month of Virodhikrit year of Saka 1173.

Brief translation of the 2nd inscription.

Gajapati Deb, eldest son of Sri Jagannath Narayan Deb Maharajah constructed Sri Neelakanṭeśvara's big Mukhasali temple and appointed seven archaka families as worshippers with the permission of the Maharajah.

FURTHER LIGHT ON THE KAKATIYAS.

M. RAMA RAO, B.A., (HONS.) B. Ed.

While publishing a "List of Inscriptions discovered in the Nizam's Dominions" in the previous number of this journal,[1] I have given the full text of an inscription from Kazipet[2] in the Warangal District. The object of this paper is to show the importance of this record and the changes that it makes in our knowledge of Kakatiya History.

1. The geneology—Beta *alias* Tribhuvanamalla is considered to have been the earliest known king of this dynasty. I have shown elsewhere that this is an error and that Beta was preceded by his father Prola I.[3] The inscription under consideration bears this out. It further mentions that this Prola I was preceded by another Beta, whom we may call Beta I. Thus another early generation of the Kakatiya kings is brought to light.

2. The Chronology—I have stated previously[4] that the earliest mention of the Kakatiyas is in connection with Guṇḍaya alias Kākartya Guṇḍyana, in a C. P. grant of the time of the Eastern Chalukyan king Ammaraja II. This Guṇḍaya has been assigned to about 950—999 A.D. We next hear of Prola I of 1050—1080 A. D. Thus there is gap of about 50 years between the two chieftains. The inscription under consideration fills up this gap by locating Beta I. therein. Calculating at the rate of thirty years a generation, from the regnal period of Prola I. we arrive at 1020—1050 A. D. for the time of Beta I. Since most of the Kakatiya kings had very long reigns,[5] we may credit Beta I also with a similar reign and put him immediately after Guṇḍaya and consider him to have flourished between 1000 and 1050 A. D.

3. Beta I— Two facts are known from the Kazipet record, about this king. He is called the "Lord of Kākatipura". His son it was, that first became lord of the *Ammakonda Vishaya* and probably ruled from Anumakonda. Thus the Kākatipura has got to be located elsewhere. In a previous article to this Journal,[6] I have advanced a theory that the Kakatiyas might have migrated to the Telugu country from the village "Kāgati" in the modern Mysore State. This Kākatipura is probably identical with the above village. The Kazipet inscription further states that Beta I. got great glory by beating the Chōḷa forces. This bears out another proposition of mine, that the early Kakatiyas seceded from the Eastern Chalukyan kingdom after the death of Ammaraja II and were busy acquiring power and territory.[7] During the chaos that prevailed at this period the Cholas of South India invaded the Vengi country and since then their influence was keenly felt in Eastern

1 Vol. VII pt. 2 pp. 115-124. 2 Ibid. p. 115.
3 See the geneological table on p. 122 of this journal vol. VI part II.
4 Ibid p. 124. 5 Ibid. See the table. 6 Ibid. p. 125. 7 Ibid.

Chalukyan politics. Prola I. who was immensely profited by this confusion. carved out a small principality for himself and actively fought the intruding Cholas. It is no wonder therefore that his father Beta I. is said to have fought with Chola forces

4. Prola I— The inscription under consideration reveals very interesting facts about Prola I. It is said that he "straightened *Chakrakuta vishaya*". About the year 1060 A. D. Raja Raja the Eastern Chalukyan king and his son Rajēndra (alias Kulottunga I) were actively beseiging Chakrakōta. Prola is also credited with the same achievement. It is not known when he did this; nor is it possible to say whether he was a competitor or ally of the Chalukyas. While explaining Prola's rivalry with the Cholas of Kanchi, as per records at Pillalamarri and Palampet, I have supposed that Prola fought the Cholas in conjunction with the allies of Prince Rajendra.8 The same might hold good in this case also, though the inscription does not explicitly state it. Possibly the Nāga kings of Chakrakūta attempted to enlarge their own territory and thus came into conflict with the Eastern Chalukyas in the South-East and the Kakatiyas in the South-West. Prola is said to have "put to flight the lord of Bhandrangapura". From an inscription at Bekkallu in the Nizam's Dominions, a number of chieftains bearing the title "Rāhut" are known to have ruled from Bhandrangapura.9 These figure as Kakatiya feudatories in the time of Rudra. Evidently, Prola subjugated them. We are told further that Prola conquered *Purakūdēśa* by killing the son of Kodvarti Dugga, gained some more territory by defeating a certain Gonna and obtained from Trailōkyamalla, as a permanent gift, the *Anumakonda vishaya*, which comprised all these principalities. We know from other sources that Beta II and Prola II were feudatories of the Western Chalukyan monarch Vikramaditya VI. The Kazipet inscription carries this relation between the two houses, a generation behind. Then it is evident that Prola was the contemporary and feudatory of Somesvara II *alias* Trailōkamalla of Kalyan.

Besides throwing new light on the geneology, chronology and individual history of the Kakatiya kings, the Kazipet inscription enables us to know how the Kakatiyas rose to power. Since the death of Amma Raja, they were busy acquiring as much power and territory as they could, fighting everybody that came in their way. When the affairs in Vengi assumed normal condition, the new aspirants turned towards the centre of the Dekkan. Then they were obliged to face the Western Chalukyas and accepted formal subordination to them, but were really expanding in every possible direction. They obtained their *locus standi* in the Dekkan in the time of Prola I. His son Beta consolidated the position while Prola II whose reign synchronised with the fall of Kalyan, laid the foundations of the independant Kakâtiya kingdom.

8. Ibid, p. 126.
9. No, 9 of 'List of Kakatiya Inscriptions' in vol. VII, pt 2 of this Journal.

RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS AT RAJAHMUNDRY.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

With a view to construct the municipal water-works, the Department of Public Works excavated the site, formerly owned by the Maharajah of Pittapur and now by the Municipality, on the eastern bank of the River Godavari and found, in January 1933, a beautiful stone image of Ṣhaṇmukha (six-faced god) or Kumāraswāmi, seated on a Peacock. Both the God and his Vehicle are wrought out in excellent finish on granite stone with correct proportions as can be seen from the accompanying illustration. From the arrangement made at the bottom of the image, it is learnt that it is the *mūla-viraṭ* or original central figure set up in the shrine which must have existed, probably in the 10th or 11th century A.D , at the same site. A figure of *Nandi* or Bull in a couchant posture, with the head missing, is also found close to the image and several pillars and capitals discovered on the site confirm the view that the site was once filled with a saivite shrine. People call the raised site by the name of Pushpagiri and if it is the same as Padmagiri, described in *Bhīmakhaṇḍam* by Poet Srīnādha as containing the temple of Veerabhadraswāmi, then these discoveries only confirm the description.*

Close to the place where the image was discovered, nearly 6 feet below the present ground level of the site, was also found a stone inscription 9 inches in width and 15 inches in length in a well-preserved state. It is slightly broken in the top left and right corners and the bottom left corner. It contains 10 lines of matter of which the first four are in the Sanskrit language, and the rest in Telugu. The whole inscription is written in Telugu characters. It is dated *Śakābdē Yuga Nanda Ramdhra* i.e., Ś. 994 which corresponds to A. D. 1072. The grant mentioned in the Sanskrit portion was made, on a Sunday in April of the year, personally by Bhīma, who was foremost among the Brahmins and who was skilful in doing the duties of the illustrious Minister, for the welfare of his parents and it consisted of the gift of a lamp to be burnt in perpetuity to Srī Mārkaṇḍa Mahēśvara situated on the eastern bank of the Godavari. The Telugu portion states that, on the occasion of *Vishu samkrānti* and in the prosperous and victorious regnal year 12 of the illustrious Sarvvalōkāśraya Srīvishnuvardhana Mahārāja, a certain Bhīmana *Peggaḷḷu* endowed, to Mārkaṇḍīśwara *Mahaddēvara* (Great God) a perpetual lamp and 50 sheep which

* It is since found that a fully decorated humped Bull standing on a four-legged stand, made of copper and one big bell and two small bells made of bronze and eight *jyotulu* for burning lights and camphor made of copper have all been unearthed from the same place.

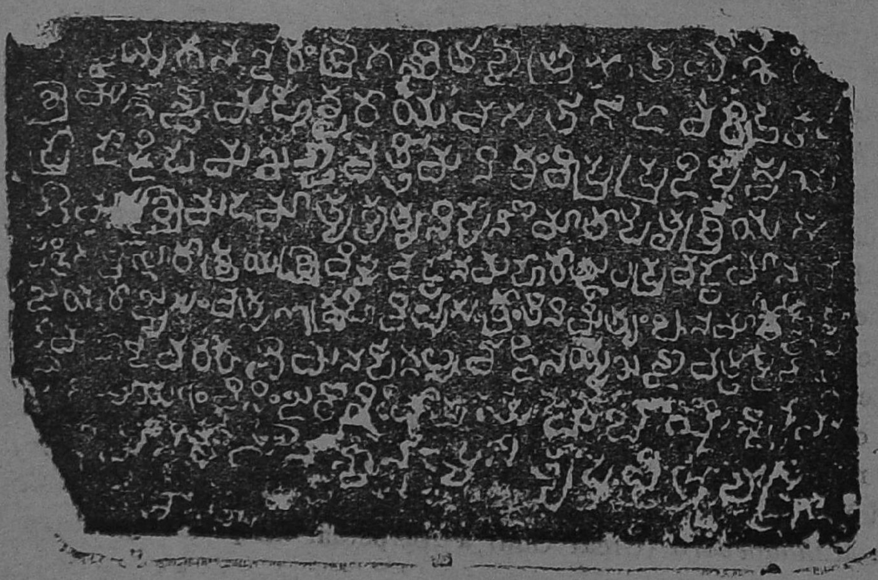
should be taken possession of by Pāpayama Bōyuṇḍu who should, as long as the moon and the sun last, offer *Mānenḍu* (one seer) ghee by the measure called *Nandi Mānika* for feeding the said lamp.

From the middle of the 8th line to the last, the original inscription stands erased—and the stone bears clear proof of the same—and the present matter substituted. Probably, a change was found necessary with regard to the donee and the donation.

The king referred to in this grant, as indicated by the date, is no other than Vijayāditya VII who possesses the same titles which are found in this Grant and who had a Minister and Commander by name Bhīmabhūpa to whom he granted several villages for meritorious acts done by him. (Vide J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II, pts. 3 & 4, p. 288.)

Text of the Inscription.[1]

1. Śakā[2]bdē yugananda ramdhra gaṇitē chaitramgatē bhāskarē
2. Srī Mārkkaṇḍa mahēśvarāya vasatē Gōdāvarī prāktaṭē
3. prādāddīpa makhaṇḍa vartti maniśaṁ vipra pradīpōsvayaṁ
4. Bhīmaśśrīmadamātya kṛtya nipuṇō mātāpitṛ śrēyasē
5. Svasti Sarvvalōkāśraya Śrīvishṇu varddhana mahārājula pravarddhamāna vi
6. jaya rājya saṁvatsa[3] 12 śrahi vishusaṁkrāṁti nimityaṁbuna Mārkkaṇḍīśva
7. rā Mahaddēvaraku Bhīmanapeggaḷḷu veṭṭina yakhaṇḍa vattidiviya I
8. ṇṭki Goṛiya[4] 50 Vīnimjēkoni Pāpayama Bōyuṇḍu na
9. ndi mānika mānenḍu neyu[5] ;nityapaḍi āchaṁdrā
10. rka sthāyigā



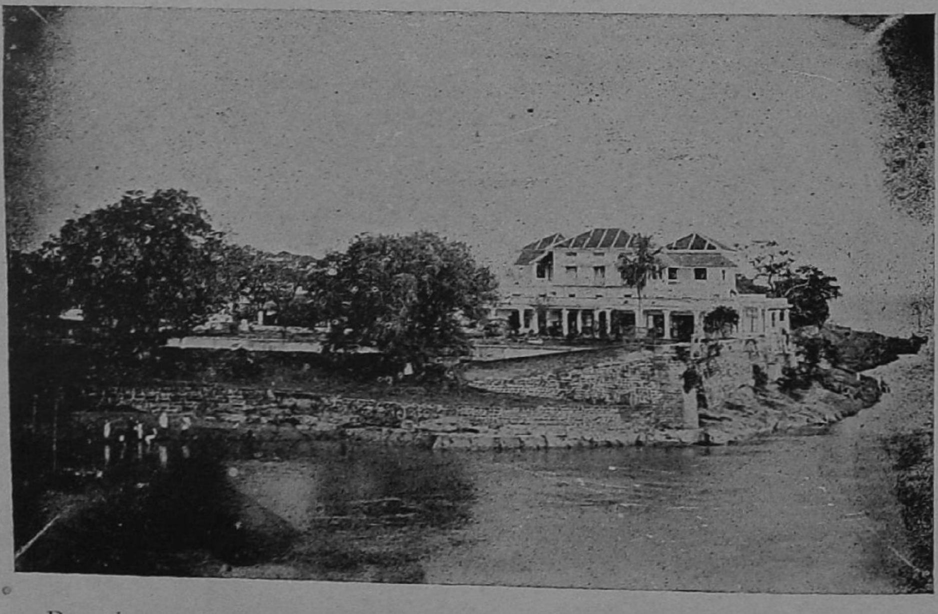
1. From the original Stone and Estampage taken by me. The first 4 lines are in Sanskrit verse and the rest in Telugu prose.

2. These two letters are only partly visible.

3. Read *samvatsara.* 4. Read *Goriyalu.* 5. Read *neyyi.*

Raja Sri Rao Swetachelapati Ramakrishna Ranga Rao Bahadur, Raja of Bobbili.

Image of Subrahmaṇya or Shaṇmukha. (p. 179)



Premises of recent Archaeological Discoveries (pp. 177-180.)

*Image of Shaṇmukha or Kumāraswāmi.**

Kārtikēya or Viśākha is known as Subramaṇya in South India where every village is said to have a temple for him. He is also called Guha and because Gaṇapati was born to Pārvati before Guha, he is called Guhāgraja. Worship of Gaṇēśa is really more popular than that of Subramaṇya, probably because the former not only gives boons but removes all obstacles. Like Subramaṇya in the form of Kumāraswāmi, *Urddhava Gaṇapati* and *Pingala-Ganapati* also possess 6 hands.

Subramaṇya is also known as Kumāra or Kumāraswāmi. His female counterpart is Kumāri having 4 hands, two of which denote *Abhaya* and *Varada* poses and two hold *Śakti* and *Kukkuṭa.* Her vehicle is a peacock and her *makuṭa* or headdress is bound with *vāsika.* Her abode is under a fig tree. Her appearance suggests valour and it is believed that, at the time of Siva's fight with Andhakāsura, she, along with the other 6 mātṛkas, prevented the blood of the *asura* from falling on earth lest it should create more *asurās* or Rākshasas.

There is a story that Siva and his wife thought of marrying first whoever of their two sons would go round the earth first and while Subramaṇya on his Peacock started in earnest on a trip round the world, Gaṇeśa simply went round his parents seven times and claimed the merit of going round the world and got married first and hence Subramaṇya out of anger retired to Mt. Krauncha to do penance leading a celibate life.

The *vishṇudharmōttara* states that she has 6 faces and 12 arms and while two arms denote *varada* and *abhaya* poses, the rest carry *śakti, dhvaja, daṇḍa, dhanus, bāṇa, ghaṇṭa, padma, patra, paraśu* and *ankuśa.* She has a garland of red flowers.

Śakti, Vajra and Taṇka are Subramaṇya's characteristic weapons. *Śakti* is another name for spear; *Vajra* for the thunderbolt which consists of 2 similar and connected limbs each having 3 claws resembling those of birds and *Taṇka* for chisel. Subramaṇya also holds a Kukkuṭa or Cock in his hand just as his father Śiva holds a Mṛiga or deer.

Tirupparañguṇṛam is one of the few sacred places dedicated to the worship of Subramaṇya now in South India. But it seems there is no shrine for the god nor even a sculptured image of him but yet people worship a group of images there taking them to be those of the God. Some have a notion that Sri Venkateswara on Tirumalai hill was originally Subramaṇya but it is an image of Hari-Hara.

In the Chalukyan Inscriptions, the kings of both the Eastern and the Western Branches call themselves the devotees of Swāmi

* I have consulted late T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Indian Iconography*, 2 Vols. for some of the details mentioned under this head.

Mahāsēna (Kumāraswāmi or Kārtikēya) and Saptamātṛkas. It is therefore gratifying to find an image of Kumāraswāmi in this place. Stone sculptures bearing in relief figures of Saptamātṛakas are found in the Museum premises.

The height of the Image is 2 ft 3 inches and that of the pedestal 3 inches. The breadth of the image is 1½ ft. To the right side of the main head are found three heads and to the left two heads. On the right side, the main hand shows *Abhaya* (Protection) posture. The top first hand holds *Triśūla* (Three headisded spear), the second *Gada* (Mace), the third *Kukkuṭa* (Cock), the fourth *Nāgali* (Plough), and the fifth *Vajra* (Spear with two heads). On the left side, the main hand shows *Varada* (Boon) posture. The top first hand holds *Dhanāssu* (Bow), the second *Gaṇḍra goḍḍali* (Battle-Axe), the third *Paśam* (Chord), thefourth *Padmam* (Lotus), and the fifth *Gaṁṭa* (Bell). The God wears a crown and garlands in the neck,scarf and jewels for shoulders,arms and wrists.

A Kakatiya Inscription.

In the same municipal premises but on the other side, just in front of the new municipal high school and on a standing pillar is found the following Kakatiya inscription which is already published in Telugu in S. I. Inscriptions Vol. V, No. 116 (A. R. No. 506 of 1893). It is dated in A. D. 1248 and records the foundation, on the occasion of *Uttarāyana saṁkrānti* (summer solstice), by Kākati Gaṇapati Dēvarāja in the name of his father Mahādēvarāya, of Mahādēvēśvara in the village of Gajjaram and the grant of market rates collected round about Nandanur village for *nivēdyam* and *aṁgaraṁga bhōgaṁ* of the God, in perpetuity. The details of distribution of the income for the several services are also mentioned.

TEXT.*

First Side.

1 Śaka Vatshaṁbulu 1170 nēmṭṭi yu
2 ttarāyaṇa saṁkraṁtti kālamunaṁddu
3 malayamuna Gaṇapati Devarāju
4 lu tama jīya Mahādēvarāju pēru
5 seppi Gajjarāna Mahādēvēśvara Śrīma
6 hādēvaranu pratiṣṭa sēsi nivēdyapaḍula
7 kunu aṁgaraṁga bhōgālakunu Naṁdamūru
8 palliyachuṭṭunu aṁgaḍi suṁkamu
9 nagartila chinnamu gōmaṭla varaka vīsamu
10 yeḍa suṁka pa ೧ guḍimaṭla penumaṭla la
11 m vīmṭiki dīpālaku ga ೧ si — ātukūraka
12 m ḍa polāna kha ೧ boṁḍini kuṁseṁḍu pe
13 ṭuka mānemḍugā lekanu

Second Side.

14 āsaṁdrārkka sthāyigā nisti |

* Prepared from Text given in S. I. Inscriptions Vol. V, No.116 and Estampage of the Inscription in my possession.

THE HISTORY OF THE EASTERN GANGAS OF KALINGA.

THE SONS OF ANANTAVARMA CHODAGANGA. A.D. 1147—1198.

R. SUBBA RAO, M.A., L.T.

(*Continued from page 132 of Vol. VII, Part 2.*)

Chapter VI.

The following Geneology and Chronology of the successors of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga are constructed with the help of the Copper-plate charters of Narasimha deva II,[135] Bhanudeva II,[136] and Narasimha deva IV,[137] the Stone inscriptions of the several kings found in the Mukhalingam,[138] Srīkūrmam, Simhāchellam,[139] Bhuvanēśvaram and other temples, Mādalāpānji[140] (Oriya Chronicle preserved in the Puri Temple), Gaṅga Vamśānucharitam[141] (an unpublished Saṁskrit work written by Vāsudēva Bahampati), Muhammadan Histories[142] and Accounts of contemporary dynasties found in inscriptions and literature.

"*The chronology of the Eastern Gaṅga Kings of Orissa*" published by the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti in J. As. Soc. Beng, old series, Vol. LXXII, part I, pp. 97—141 and adopted entirely by the late Mr. R. D. Benarji in his *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 270—288 is neither complete nor correct. But, as a first attempt of the kind, the work deserves great praise. The late Robert Sewell in his famous work *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, edited by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar. collates from the several sources a Pedigree—table of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga and states on page 357 of the work that "the Chronology is based on the assumption that the seventh king, Kāmārṇava III, established the 'Kalinga—Ganga' era as a family era, whose epoch was the year of his accession, viz., A.D. 877-78. The length of reigns is given as in inscriptions, not as necessarily accurate." But the assumption is baseless and unwarranted. The whole question was already discussed by me.

135. The Kendupaṭna C, P. Grants published in J.As. Soc. Beng Vol. LXV pt. I. No. 3 pp. 229-272.

136. B.C. Muzumdar's Orissa in the Making, pp. 201-203.

137. The Puri Plates published in J. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LXIV pt, I, No, 2, pp. 128-155.

138. Mukhalingam and Srìkurmam Inscriptions in S.I.I. vol. V.

139. Simhachelam Inscriptions in S.I.I. Vol. VI.

140. J.B.O.R.S, Vol. XIII, pp. 10-27

141. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. II, pp. 250-258.

142. Elliot's History of Muhammadan India, Vol. III.

The recent publication of hundreds of Telugu Inscriptions and a few Sanskrit and Oriya ones has thrown new light on the whole subject and it is with their help that the following Pedigree (slightly new from the one already given) is constructed.

Dēvēndravarma Rāja Rāja I.

Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgadēva A.D. 1076-1147 — Permādidēva

Permādidēva → Peddajiyya Nāyani Chōḍagaṅga

Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgadēva:

(By wife Kasturikāmōdini)
1. Kamārṇava VII A,D. 1147-1156

(By wife Indirādevi)
2. Rāghava A.D. 1156-1170

(By wife Chendralēkha)
3. RājaRāja II. 1170-1194
4. Aniyanka Bhima 1190-1198

5 Rāja Rāja III 1198-1211

6 Ananga Bhīma 1211-45

7 Narasimhadēva I 1245-64

8 Bhānudēva I 1264-79

9 Narasimhadēva II 1279-1306

10 Bhānudēva II 1306-1327

11 Narasimhadēva III 1327-53

12 Bhānudēva III 1353-78

13 Narasimhadēva IV 1378-1424

14 Bhānudēva IV 1424-34

1. *Kāmārṇava VII A.D. 1147—1156.*

Both the Puri and the Keṇḍupaṭṇa C.P. Grants give the geneology, the chronology and the history of the Gaṅga dynasty from its historical founder Kolāhala. They describe that Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga had by his wife called Kaskurikāmōdini a son named Kāmārṇava who was crowned in Ś. 1064 or A. D. 1142 and who ruled for 10 years over the Kalinga Empire with great prowess. One inscription dated Ś. 1071 states[143]

143. No. 1199, S.I.I. Vol. IV.

that Anantavarma's second wife Dennavamahādēvi had a son called Aṭṭahāsadēva and another[144] that Aṭṭahāsa had a son called Chōḍagaṅga. This prince, as already noted, was Governor of a province in Ś. 1143 or A.D. 1221. Probably, Aṭṭahāsadēva did not live to succeed his father or his claims, as the son of the second wife, were not so strong and hence Kāmārṇava, the son of the Paṭṭamahishi (Queen Consort) came to the throne. Inscription No. 1110, (S.I.I. Vol. V) records that Chōḍagaṅga had another son called Umāvallabha, who was born to Pṛthvīmahādēvi and who also predeceased the Emperor.

Though the Puri and the Keṇḍupaṭna C. P. Grants state that he was annointed in Śaka year 1064, we actually find[145] Grants being made still in the name of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga till Ś. 1072 which is said to be equal to his 75th regnal year. However, on account of the old age of Chōḍagaṅga and probably also to interest the Crown-prince in the art of administration, Kāmārṇava had to be annointed in Ś. 1064, as stated in the C. P. charters, to be the joint ruler during the life time of the Emperor himself. An inscription,[146] found in the Srikurmam Temple, dated Ś. 1071 states that that year corresponds to the 4th regnal year of the king who is styled Anantavarma Madhukāmārṇava Dēvara and that the king's Governor-in-chief named Kuppana *Sāhiṇi* made a gift to the Temple. This would give Ś. 1068 as the initial year of the king. Another[147] dated Ś. 1074 states that that year corresponds to his 7th regnal year which also makes Ś. 1068 the initial year of his rule. Another[148] dated Ś. 1071 also states that that year corresponds to the king's 4th regnal year, and that a certain Meḍapōta, the Brahmin Minister made a grant of 5 Mādas (gold coins) for burning a perpetual lamp to god Kurmēśvara. Another[149] dated Ś. 1073 states that that year corresponds to the 5th regnal year of the king and so his rule would commence in Ś. 1069 or A. D. 1147. The king is also called Rāja Rāja Dēvara. He is also styled as Jaṭēśvaradēvara. No. 1044 (S. I. I. Vol. V) records that Ś. 1070 is the 3rd regnal year of Jaṭēśvaradēva. No. 1147 (S. I. I. Vol. V) states that Anantavarma's 3rd regnal or *anka* year which is equal to his 2nd actual ruling year corresponds to Ś. 1070. From this we learn that his accession took place in Ś. 1069. The inscription records that Sūrāma, a daughter of Vidyāpati Pandit made a gift of 5 Māḍas for a lamp for God Aniyanka Bhīmēśwara.

144. No. 1194, S.I.I. Vol. VI.
145 No. 1018, S.I.I. Vol V.
146. No. 1323, in S.I.I, Vol. V.
147. No. 1325 Ibid.
148. No. 1332 Ibid.
149. No. 1174 in S.I.I. Vol. VI.

An inscription[150] states that the king's wife made a gift of land for burning a perpetual lamp to God Madhukēśvara. Two inscriptions[151] state that in the reign of Anantavarma Chōdagaṅga, two Sāhiṇis or military officers of the king made gifts for the merit of Kāmārṇava, the Crown-prince. Almost all the inscriptions of the reign denote gifts of land or cash or both or goats or she-buffalos made for burning a perpetual lamp in the Vishṇu temples at Srikurmam and Simhachelam, either by the royal members or officials. The dates refer to the prosperous and victorious regnal years of the king.[152] Since his rule began in Ś. 1069 or A.D. 1147 and since he is said to have enjoyed the earth for 10 years, his reign must have closed in A.D. 1156. Before his actual accession in A.D. 1147, he was in charge of the rule under his father's guidance. His titles show that he had a victorious reign, having put down all his enemies.

The Kēndupaṭna Plates state that Kāmārṇava was a brave and charitable king whose glorious deeds made him world-famous. After defeating his enemies and gaining wealth and lands, he performed the *Tulābhāram* ceremony by which he weighed himself against gold and distributed it to his courtiers. His subjects were happy and strong and several learned Pandits lived at his court. Probably, on account of his dying childless, he was succeeded by his half-brother Rāghava.

2. *Rāghava A.D. 1156—1170.*

Though both late Messrs. M. M. Chakravarti and R. D. Banerji had stated that Rāghava is not known from any inscriptions, in my work *Kalingadēśacharitra* published early in 1931, I mentioned that he is known to us from several important inscriptions found in Sreekurmam temple. One inscription[153] states that Ś. 1091 is equal to the 17th victorious regnal year of the illustrious Anantavarma who is also styled "*Dēvidāsa Raṇaranga Rāghava Chakravarti*". Since the C. P. Grants of the

150. No. 1047 in S.I.I. Vol, V.
151. Nos. 1063 and 1067 Ibid.
152. Late R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa Vol. I* p. 253 doubted unnecessarily whether the dates are regnal years or anka years, The several votive inscriptions state clearly that the dates refer to "the prosperous and victorious regnal years". But it should be understood that *from this period* the regnal years are the same as the *anka* years and not the *actual ruling* years.

He could not also state *definitely* in what year the accession took place though, from the inscriptions, it is clear that it happened in S. 1069 or A.D. 1147. As stated in the Copper-Plate charters of Narasimha II and IV his *abhisheka* or annointment took place in S. 1064, and as stated in his stone inscriptions, *his accession to power* took place in S. 1069 though his father lived till S. 1072 which was said to be his 75th regnal year,

153 No. 1330 in S.I.I, Vol V,

second and the fourth Narasimhadeva give him a rule of 15 years only and since we have fixed, with the help of inscriptions the closing year of Kāmārṇava's rule and the first year of Rāghava's rule to be 1156 A.D. we have to take the 17th regnal year to be the *anka* year.[154] Now, by deducting 1st, 6th and 16th years from the number, we get the *actual* year of his rule to be 14 and since this year corresponds to Ś. 1091, the first ruling year of the reign will be Ś. 1078 or A.D. 1156. Another[155] states that Ś. 1092 is equal to his regnal year 18 or actual year of rule 15 and gives the same titles. As no inscription beyond this 15th year of actual rule is found and as it is the total period for him mentioned in the C.P. charters we take that his rule came to an end in Ś. 1092 or A.D. 1170.

Two inscriptions[156] dated Ś. 1084 and belonging to the 6th actual year of rule mention that grants of 5 *māḍas* were made by private persons for burning a perpetual lamp to God SrīKūrmēśvara on the occasion of a solar eclipse for the good luck of their parents. Another[157] dated S. 1089 mentions a similar gift.

From the Keṇḍupaṭna Plates,[158] we learn that Chōḍagaṅga had by a Queen named Indira, the daughter of a king of the solar dynasty who was noted for her supernatural beauty, a son called Rāghava who put down all the enemies and who was "looked upon by all the wielders of the bow as their only model". He is compared to Arjuna and Paraśu Rama for his brave deeds and styled "the Crest-Jewel of the Sovereigns of the Earth."

After a glorious rule of of 15 years he too died childless and hence the throne passed to the two sons of Chandralēkha, another Queen of Chōḍagaṅga, namely Rāja Rāja II and Aniyanka or Ananga Bhimadeva.

3. *Rāja Rāja II A.D.* 1170—1194.

The Keṇḍupatna Plates state that RājaRāja was the son of Chandralēkha, the favourite wife of Chōḍagaṅga who was "as a bulbous root to

154. The *anka* year is peculiar to Utkala and the Ganga kings from this period adopted it. It begins on *Suniya day (Simha Sukla Dvâdaśi)* in the month of *Bhâdrapada.* Its features are that 1, and all figures ending in 0 and 6 (except 10) are omitted in counting and the last *anka* year of one king and the first of his successor fall in the same year. Some believe that the *anka* system of reckoning was devised to prolong the period of the rule of a king. Others believe that the figures left off are so done because they are not auspicious. When a king dies in the middle of an anka year, his successor's second *anka* year or first actual year of rule, which begins on his accession to the throne, does not run its full course of an year but ends on the following *Bhâdrapada Sukla Dvâdaśi day.*

155. No. 1331 in S.I.I. Vol. V.

156. Nos. 1336 and 1340 *Ibid.*

157 No. 1341 *Ibid.*

158. J. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LXV, pt I. p. 263.

the creeper-like extension of the king"s dynasty." He seems to have set out on several expeditions to subdue his enemies who are not however specified. He was brave and famous and his title Rāja Rāja shows that he was king of kings. His thunderbolt-like hands were always busy in wielding his victorious bow. *He died after a glorious rule of 25 years* and probably because he was childless, his younger brother Aniyanka Bhima succeded to the throne.

Though both the Puri and Kendupaṭna C. P. Charters have given a reign of 25 years to him, the late M. M. Chakravarty has given him only 21 years[159] by taking the years to be *anka* and by thinking that Ś. 1112 was the last year of Rāja Rāja's reign. We now know from this king's inscription[160] found in the Mukhalingam temple that he still lived and ruled in S. 1114 which was his 27th regnal or anka year. I cannot agree with the view of the late M. M. Chakravarty that the years of the C. P. charters also are *anka* years.

They are certainly actual years of rule. Only the years found in the stone inscriptions of the Gaṅga kings from after the time of Ananta-Varma Chōḍagaṅga appear to be *anka*. Sometimes, the word *anka śrāhi* is found in some of the later inscriptions but generally the phrase *Vijayarājya Samvatsara* alone is found. Since the inscription (No. 1142) states that the Śaka year 1114 corresponds to his 27 anka year or 22nd actual year, we must hold that his rule extended beyond 21 years. He must have ruled fully for 25 years, as stated in all the C.P. Charters.

Five inscriptions relating to his reign are found in the Mukhalingam temple and two in the Srī Kūrmam temple. He is styled in all of them as Anantavarmadēvara.

A Mukhalingam inscription[161] dated Ś. 1093 corresponds to the regnal or *anka* year 3 or actual year 2 and so the first year of rule would be Ś. 1092 or A. D. 1170. It states that, on the occasion of *Dakshiṇāyana Samkranti*. a certain Kāmana, the *Puravari* of Nagara-puvāḍa, endowed God Aniyaṁka Bhīmēśvara with certain gifts of land. A Srīkurmam inscription,[162] dated Ś. 1096 and corresponding to the 4th *anka* or 3rd actual year of the king Anantavarma (by which name only he is mentioned in all the inscriptions) states that a certain Pṛthvimahā-dēvi, second wife of Chaṁdradharadeva, made a gift of 10 Surabhi *Māḍas* (coins) for the burning of two lamps for ever in the temple of Srī Kūrmēśvara. A Mukhalingam inscription[163] dated Ś. 1097 and

159. J, As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LXXII, pp. 114 and 141.
160. No. 1142 in S. I, I. Vol. V.
161. No. 1143 S.I.I. Vol. V.
162. No. 1270 *Ibid.*
163. No. 1113 *Ibid.*

corresponding to the 8th *anka* or 6th actual ruling year of the king states that a certain Gaṇapati *peggaḍa* of Simhapura endowed in the name of his parents 5 Māḍas for burning a perpetual lamp before Srī Madhukēśvaradēva and set apart certain lands in Nagara village for the same. A Srī Kūrmam inscription[164] dated Ś. 1104 and corresponding to the 14th *anka* or 12th actual ruling year of the king states that a certain Māṁkama Nāyakurālu endowed Srī Kūrmēśvara with 5 Māḍas. A Mukhalingam inscription[165] dated Ś. 1107 of the king's reign records the endowment of 5 Māḍas to God Anyanka Bhīmēśvara by a lady called Duggama for the merit of her husband and son. Another[166] dated Ś. 1109 and corresponding to the 22nd *anka* or 18th actual ruling year of the king, states that, on the occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti* a certain Sūre*pradhānı's* (Minister's) younger brother named Purushōttama Maṇḍalika (Governor) endowed a perpetual lamp to God Madhukēśvara of Nagaram and gave certain lands lying to the north of the temple to support the same for ever. Another[167] dated Ś. 1114 and corresponding to the king's 27th *anka* or 22nd ruling year states that, on the occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti*, a certain Sure*pradhāni* (Minister) endowed one perpetual lamp and certain lands in the village (500 *Guntas* and one *Putti* of land) to support the same for God Aniyaṁka Bhīmēśvara of Nagaram.

This last inscription is particularly important as it throws light on the economic position and habits of the people of the time. It was usual to endow lamps for the merit of people (present or past) and to support the same with gifts of *Māḍas* (coins) or *Guntas* and *Puttis* (Measures of land). Generally, the executors of the grants are also named and curses are mentioned in case any harm is intended by anyone for these perpetual gifts made by them. The inscriptions reveal the names of two brothers of whom one was Minister Sure *pradhāni* and one was Governor Purushottama *manḍalika*. Similarly, the Mēghēśvara inscription at Bhuvanēśvaram[168] states that the king married Surama, a sister of Svapnēśvaradēva who built the Mēghēśvara temple and who was probably employed by the king as the Governor of the region. The inscription is important in as much as it reveals the fact that the king who passed the middle age when he came to the throne and who had no sons of his own installed his younger brother Aniyanka Bhīma on the throne to help him in his old age in governing the Empire. It is for this reason probably that certain inscriptions of Anyanka Bhima are found to belong to Rāja Rāja's reign. This has made late M. M. Chakravarti state wrongly that Rāja Rāja's last year would be S. 1112.[169]

164. No. 1329 *Ibid.* 165. No. 1135 *Ibid.*
166. No. 1046 *Ibid.* 167. No. 1142 *Ibid.*
168. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, pp. 198—203.
169. J. As. Soc. Beng. LXXII, part I, p. 114.

4. *Aniyanka Bhīma or Ananga Bhīma. A.D. 1190—1198.*

The Puri and Keṇḍupatna C. P. Grants state that he ruled for 10 years. The Mēghēśvara Inscription states that, even during the time of his elder brother Rāja Rāja, he was installed as ruler owing to the former's old age. Two inscriptions found in the Temple of Kṛttivāsa at Bhuvanēśvara state[170] that his 4th *anka* or 3rd ruling year corresponds to Ś. 1114 or in other words, his rule began in Ś. 1112 or A.D. 1190. The Mēghēśvara inscription states that Rāja Rāja's brother-in-law Svapṇēśvara built the temple of Mēghēśvara during his reign, i.e., between Ś. 1115 and 1120 or A.D. 1193 and 1198.

From two inscriptions of his son Rāja Rāja III found in the Srīkūrmam Temple[171] we learn that the first ruling year of Rāja Rāja's reign fell in Ś. 1120 or A.D. 1198 and so we have to think that the last year of Ananga Bhīma fell in Ś. 1120 or A.D. 1198. To sum up, he ruled from Ś. 1112 or A. D. 1190 to Ś. 1120 or A.D. 1198, i.e. for 9 years. The Chāṭēśvara inscription[172] states that the king had a Brahmin Minister called Gōvinda who built the Chāṭēśvara Temple. The Puri and Keṇḍu-paṭna Plates state that "the king was competent in work and a lover of good poetry. He was pure in religion, free from any impurity of the Kali age and his eulogy surpassed those of his ancestors." He was a great warrior and won in many battles of wild elephants and subdued his enemies and got the name of Rāja Rāja. His fame spread in all directions. He ruled for 10 years and was succeeded by his son, Rāja Rāja III. He was the last son of Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅga to rule and the first and only son to be succeeded by a son of his own. From his time onwards, there were regular lineal descendants till the end of the dynasty. "The valiant king Ananga Bhima was of unrestrained power and was the family abode of the goddess of *Daṇḍa-nīti*. (Administration of Justice). His conduct was most elegant, being purified by truthfulness, right observances and correct judgement and the sole object of his life was virtue.[173] His *Paṭṭamahishī* or Queen Consort was Bhāgalladēvi whose son Rāja Rāja III came to the throne in his youth.

170 J. As. Soc. Beng. LXXII, part I, p. 115.
171. Nos. 1273 and 1317, S.I.I. Vol. V.
172, J. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LXVII, pp. 320-321.
173, J. As. Soc Beng. LXV, pt. I, p. 265,

REVIEWS.

(1) TOLKAPPIAM (PORULATIKARAM). Fasc. 1. Price As. 12.

BY R. Vasudeva Sarma, M.A., B.L.,

This seems to be the oldest rhetorical work in the world, done into English for the first time, with exhaustive comments and illustrations. It was written by St. Trina, the disciple of Agastya, the first grammarian of the Tamils and divided into 3 sections, viz., Orthography, Etymology and Rhetoric. The last is said to contain interesting accounts of the civilisation of the Tamils. The origin of races, the history of marriage and the objects of human existence, Love and Life are all dealt with in great detail. The translation is done on a scientific basis and the explanations are correct, clear and instructive. We wish that every one should have a copy of it.

R.S.R.

(2) INDIAN WOMEN AND ART IN LIFE.

BY K. H. Vakil B.A. LL B. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co.

This is again another interesting work of K. H. Vakil whose book *Rock-cut Temples around Bombay* was reviewed by us in the last part. The 6 illustrations - Melody of Peace, The Swing-Hindola, Bhakta Haridas, Fighting Elephants, Poverty, and Yavvana-Nṛtya-Menaka—are well brought out. In the Introduction, the author stresses on the two-fold aspect of Art, that it recalls the fact that education is or ought to be based on the human and social daily vocation and that it illustrates the truth that art, education and culture should direct the collective life and needs of the people. The author feels that it is modern women's duty to devote their attention to the solution of the two-fold problem and to revive it "to a positive phase of vitality and growth". "Art intimate with the real life" ought to be the goal. Indian women should be educated in Art intimate with life and dancing, music, painting and allied arts should not be merely technical. The author pleads for inter-provincial exchange of ideas on art, historic research and culture so as to lead for national advancement.

R.S.R.

(3) THE INDO-SUMERO-SEMITIC-HITTITE PROBLEMS, Part 1.

BY R. S. Vaidyanatha Ayyar B.A.

The author has already published '*The Sumerian Origin of Manu's Land and Trade Laws*' in 1927 -and the present work is based on the recent archaeological discoveries. The first part of the booklet is devoted to the examination of the study of Sumerian, Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions and seals by foreign scholars and the light it throws on the Asiatic civilisation in the ancient period and the second part to the original abode, habits and life of the Sumerians before 4000 B.C. and their resemblances to the Dravidian civilisation. The author states that "the Sumerians were only a branch of the Dravidians that migrated from India towards the West in the 6th millennium B. C. and that their culture, language and civilisation were essentially Dravidian." The author gives an account of the Hittites and their relation to the Aryans and states that "the Indus civilisation (hitherto called Indo-Sumerian) formed part and parcel of the wide-flung chalcolithic culture of Asia and Europe which expanded from the Adriatic Sea to Japan but which was focussed primarily in the Greater Valleys of the south of the Nile, the Euphrates. the Tigris, the Karun, the Helmund and the Indus." In conclusiou, he quotes Sir John Marshall's conclusions to the effect that Sumerians of 6th millennium B. C. are to be identified with the Dravidians of India and the Hittites (Khatis) of Asia Minor with the Kshatriyas (Indo-Aryans) of India and finally appeals to the several Indian Universities "to take the lead in the matter, to mobilize their small scattered army of experts in History and Archaeology, to provide facilities and funds for them to carry on scientific explorations and thus enable them to do really useful historical research work."

We agree wholeheartedly with all the views of the author and request earnestly the Andhra University to pay particular and early attention to the fervent appeal of the author in the concluding part of his work.

R.S.R.

(4) THE CORONATION ORIENTAL RESEARCH SOCIETY SERIES.

1. Manadēśa Charitramu—Svakīyādhāramulu, *2. Ancient Indian Tribes—Part I, The Bhutas*. *3. Chronclogy of Vedic Authors.*

These three booklets, the first two by S. P. L. Narasimhaswami and the third by S. P. V. Ramanujaswami, B.A. were published by the C. O. R. Society, Visagapatam, now extinct. The first booklet discusses the value of Purāṇas, Vēdas, Inscriptions and Antiquities for the History of our

country. The second contains a detailed history of several mythological stories found in the Puranas. The significance of Bhutas, Asuras, Devas etc. is well explained. They are stated to be three distinct tribes living in India, the Bhutas being identified with the Mundas, the Asuras with the Dravidians and the Devas with the Aryans. The anthropological study of these three tribes is really instructive and interesting. The third contains an account of the origin and nature of Vedic hymns and the chronology of Vedic Authors. The geneological tables of the nine families of Vedic authors are given at the end of the work.

R.S.R.

(5) JAGANMĀTA.

BY Aravinda Ghosh.

Published in Telugu by Duvury Ramakrishna Rao B.A.

It is a work on Yōgaśāsta dealing with Iswaraśakti and the principles of life to be observed by people such as Truth, Devotion, Charity etc. so that Divinity may be attained.

R.S.R.

(6) TANJĀPURĀMDHRA NĀYAKARĀJA CHARITRAM.

BY K. Seetaramayya M.A. Curator, Tanjore Palace Library.

Price Rs. 2.

The work is the result of the author's lectures delivered under the auspices of the Andhra University. The author discusses the sources for the subject and states how the Vizianagaram Empire fell at the hands of the Muhammadans and how the Tanjore Principality then rose into power in the ancient Chola Maṇḍalam. The author next describes the rule of Chevappa Nāyaka (1535--61), Achyuta Nāyaka (1561-1614), Raghunatha Nāyaka (1614--33) and Vijaya Raghunātha (1633-73), over Tanjore and their contributions to history. The work contains 5 maps and 22 illustrations. The work has a foreword from the pen of Mr. K. Nageswara Rao Pantulu who published it. The get up is excellent.

R.S.R.

(7) THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY TAMILS.

BY K. N. Siva Raja Pillai, B.A. Senior Lecturer in Tamil, University of Madras. Price Rs. 5.

The work is based on the Synchronistic Tables of Tamil kings, chieftains and poets appearing in the Sangam Literature. The auth or has

rightly nerved himself to the work of testing whether the Early Tamil Poems can be made to yield the secrets of their Chronology. The work is divided into four parts of which the first is devoted to the valuation of Sangam Literature, the second to the Synchronisic Tables and their ten generations, the third to the probable date of them and the fourth to the Results. 15 Appendices and 9 geneological Tables enhance the. value of the work. The get up is good and we congratulate the author for his highly useful and excellent work.

R.S.R.

(8) BUDDHIST REMAINS IN ANDHRA AND ANDHRA HISTORY, BY Mr. K. R. Subramanian M.A. Vizianagaram.

This is the third of the Andhra University series. There are very few books in English on the History of the Andhra Country. The author covers in this work many interesting but disputed problems in the early history of the Andhra country. The chapters on the Buddhist Remains in Andhra and the Amaravati marbles reveal many interesting and important facts. The author discusses the various views regarding the origin, geneology and chronology of the Pallavas and concludes that they are an Andhra dynasty. The chapters on the Brihatpalāyanas, Śālankāyanas and Vishnukundins are up to date and sufficiently discussive. The two chapters on "Andhra culture abroad" and "Administration" towards the end, enhance the value of the work and serve as incentives to further research.

It is now the fashion and policy of Indian Universities and other learned bodies to reconstruct the Local and Provincial histories with a view to facilitate the compilation of a more complete and up to date general history of India. We wish to draw the attention of the Andhra University to this fact with the hope that it would fall in a line with sister institutions. We hope that the University would soon engage a number of scholars to bring out special monograms on the different epochs of Andhra History and thereby pave the way for the construction of a fuller Local History.

M.R.R.

(9) THE GAMGA--Special Archaeological number.

This is a welcome addition to the Hindi Literature. The book opens with half a dozen papers on the History of Indological Research by eminent scholars like Dr. S. K. Iyengar, Professors P. Sreenivasacharis and B. Motichand. The two papers on the Indus Valley civilisation by Dr. N. N. Law and Laksman Sarup are very interesting. This book contains

many learned disquisitions on Ancient Indian Art and Architecture, Paleography, Chronology, Iconography, Epigraphy, Buddhism etc. besides articles on matters of general interest. The work is profusely illustrated. We commend this volume to the Andhra world in particular, with the hope that it will inspire them to bring out such useful books in the Telugu Literature too.

M.R.R.

(10) ŚAMANICHAYA ŚARMĀ CHARITAMU.

This small booklet of 22 pages, narrates how, according to the benediction of Śamanichaya, Sri Vikramadeva Varma became the Mahārājah of Jeypore.

M.R.R.

(11) SREE VIJAYA LAKSHMĪ VILĀSAMU.

BY Kavi Sārvabhauma Sripada Krishnamurty Sastri.

Written in the old *prabandha* style, this book of six *ullāsās* describes the incident of the accession of Maharaja Sri Vikramadeva Varma to the *gadi* of Jeypore.

M.R.R.

(12) ANDHRA VIJNĀNA SARVASWAMU, MADRAS.

This a sample page of the first volume of the work which was started by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao, twenty years ago. The publisher expects to complete the work in 25 volumes, of which the first is ready for sale. This work would supply a long felt want in the Andhra world and we wish god—speed to the enterprise.

M.R.R.

(13) NANDAKUMĀRAVADHA & CHAIT SINGH.

This book is the second of the publications of the Kavitā Samitī and is issued under the authorship of Mr. M. Sanjiva Rao. The author brings to bear lucidity of expression and clearness of thought on the highly dramatic incidents in the administration of Warren Hastings and makes those two tragic heroes live their lives once again before the mind of the reader. Publications of this sort are most needed in the Telugu language and we welcome this attempt with the hope that it will soon be followed by others.

M.R.R.

(14) MUDRĀ RĀKSHASAMU.

BY Mr. Palepu Venkata Surya Gopalam.

The work is yet another translation of the famous drama of Viśākhadatta, into Telugu. The Sanskrit version is also given in the book. The style of the author is free and brilliant and has a charm about it, which is rare among translators.

M.R.R.

(15) REDDIKULA NIRṆAYA CHAMDRIKA.

BY Messrs. Seshadri Ramana Kavulu and others. Prefaced by Kavya Kanṭha Ganapati Sastri Garu.

The book is an attempt to vindicate the *khatriyatwa* of the modern Reddis. The authors draw their inspiration from the Puranas, Dharmaśāstras, Inscriptions and Literature. Two figures on a gateway at Palakol are reproduced as those of Reddis, with *yajnopavitas*. The burden of the song seems to be that even in the Kali Age there are Khatriyas, that they neglected their duties and Samskāras for some reason or other and thereby became fallen (*patitas*), and merged into the fourth caste, came to be known as Reddis and that by resuming the functions and duties of the ancient Khatriyas, they can once again recover their *khatriyatwa*. Much reliance has been placed on the usual mention of the Lunar and Solar dynasties in inscriptions and the equally ordinary matrimonial relations between some of the ancient dynasties of South India and the opinions of some *Pandits* are also collated. The book incidentally gives much valuable food for reflection.

M.R.R.

(16) SĀMBŌPĀKHYĀNAM. Price Re. 1.

We are glad to announce that the Telugu Academy has recently published this work as No. 1 of the Pydah Venkatachelapati Manuscript Print Fund Series and copies thereof are available in the Telugu Academy office, Cocoanada.

R.S.R.

(17) PRĀNĀYĀMA.

It is compiled by Balkrishna, Editor of the *Yoga mimamsa* of Borivli. It is a good practical guide to any student of yōga. It is supplemented by additional articles, appendices and glossary. It shows a good combination of traditional yogic teachings with accurate laboratory experiments.

R.S.R.

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N. KAMESWARA RAO, B. A., B. L.,
Treasurer,

ANDHRA HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJAHMUNDRY.

NOTICE

Dear Sir,

There will be a Meeting of the General Body of the Andhra Historical Research Society on 30—7—33, in the Society's Reading Room, (Theosophical Lodge), Olcott Gardens. The Business meeting will be held in the morning at 7 A.M. and a Public meeting in the evening at 5 P.M. Papers on various Historical Subjects will be read at the Public meeting.

You are requested to give notice of amendment of rules, if any, and also to send any Papers to be read at at the Public Meeting.

Rajahmundry,
12—7—33

Yours Sincerely,
V. APPA RAO, B.A., B.L.
Honorary Secretary

AGENDA FOR THE BUSINESS MEETING.

(1) Confirmation of the resolution to have two Joint Secretaries for the Society (under rule 29).

(2) Election of a Joint Secretary in case the resolution for two Joint Secretaries is confirmed.

(3) Confirmation of the amendment of Rule regarding Life Membership fee.

(4) Amendment of the Rules of the Society.

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